

## Nicaragua nationalizes San Antonio sugar mill

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

CHICHIGALPA, Nicaragua — On July 13 the Nicaraguan government nationalized the San Antonio sugar mill and its tens of thousands of acres of land "for reasons of public necessity and the interests of society." The San Antonio mill and plantation employ up to 5,900 workers during the peak harvest season. It was the largest capitalist business in Nicaragua.

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega said the action was taken "to be able to solve the problem of meeting the most basic food needs of the Nicaraguan people." Ortega said the move was "eminently economic with no political overtones."

Jaime Wheelock, minister of agricultural development and agrarian reform, said that the owners had allowed the San Antonio plant and cane fields to deteriorate badly. "If we had not made this decision, the process would have ended with the disappearance of the mill or, at best, an even sharper decline in production."

According to union leaders at the company, in order to maintain last year's already reduced level of production, the San Antonio plant needed 7,000 acres of cane planted by mid-July. However, the owners had planted only 2,000 by then, and showed no intention of stepping up the pace. In addition, repairs of tractors, harvesters, and the mill's machinery are way behind schedule.

There was mounting pressure from the San Antonio workers for government action, according to Wheelock. "They saw the company collapsing and the government apparently doing nothing about it."

Conflicts had also been sharpening between the owners and workers organized by the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). The union had backed 120 workers and their families who seized 10 acres of San Antonio land last month to build shelters. Management had stubbornly refused to provide them with housing.

Company bosses had also rejected a union demand for land on which to raise food crops, and were not paying production bonuses to mill hands.

In announcing the nationalization, Wheelock said the government is prepared to pay compensation to the mill's owners. He also stated that the government is not nationalizing the land of nearby capitalist

*Continued on Page 13*

## Iran urges cease-fire in Persian Gulf war

BY SAMAD SHARIF

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the chief figure in the government of Iran, has endorsed the Iranian call for a cease-fire in the eight-year war with Iraq. The decision, he said July 20, was taken at the urging of "all the high-ranking political and military experts" in the country and was "based only on the interest of the Islamic Republic of Iran."

"We formally announce that our objective is not to have a new tactic for continuation of the war," he said, responding to Iraqi government claims that the cease-fire call was "deceptive."

On July 18 the Iranian government had accepted United Nations Resolution 598 that calls for a cease-fire as a first step in terminating the eight-year-old Iran-Iraq war. Washington called it a "breakthrough."

The next day Iraqi jets attacked industrial plants in Iranian cities located at the northern end of the Persian Gulf. The Iraqi regime, however, didn't repudiate its support to the UN resolution.

This is the first time since the Iraqi regime invaded Iran in 1980 and started the devastating war that both sides have accepted a cease-fire resolution. UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuellar said that a team of officers drawn from the UN forces would be sent to the two countries to oversee the truce arrangements. The war has resulted in more than 1 million deaths and lasted longer than World War II.

The UN Security Council resolution was passed July 20, 1987. At that time the Iraqi military forces had already been forced out of most of Iran. Moreover, Iranian troops had captured the oil-rich Majnoon islands and the strategic Fao Peninsula inside Iraq



Bodies of some of the 66 Iranian children killed by Iraqi missile attack are laid out in hall in Broujerd, Iran.

and were on the offensive. Early in 1987 the Iranian forces had come close to capturing Basra, Iraq's second largest city.

During the past year the "neutral" U.S. government entered the war more actively on the side of Iraq and the military situation began to reverse.

It was an open secret in the United Nations that the intention of the unanimously passed Resolution 598 was to lend interna-

tional support to Iraq and to pressure Iran. The resolution was designed to be rejected by the Iranian government and in turn justify UN sanctions against it — particularly an arms embargo. The U.S. authorities were pushing for such an embargo.

While not accepting the resolution, the Iranian government did not reject it either. Last fall it stated that it would accept it if an

*Continued on Page 4*

## 200,000 at London demonstration demand 'Free Nelson Mandela!'

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — The biggest ever anti-apartheid demonstration here wound its way from Finsbury Park in North London to Hyde Park on the eve of the 70th birthday of Nelson Mandela, imprisoned leader of the African National Congress of South Africa. The action demanded that the Pre-

toria regime release Mandela.

The organizers of the protest, the Anti-Apartheid Movement, estimated that 200,000 participated. On Mandela's birthday the following day, July 18, an estimated 1 million people in Britain wore badges calling for his release.

The demonstration and rally culminated a month of anti-apartheid activity in Britain that started on the weekend of June 11-12 with a 80,000-strong anti-apartheid concert at Wembley stadium. Following that event 25 marchers — one representing each year of Mandela's imprisonment — set off on a 600-mile journey from Glasgow to London. Among them were three members of the ANC and a member of the South West Africa People's Organisation.

"This gives us the confidence" said one of the 25 to the Hyde Park rally, "that it is us not Margaret Thatcher [Britain's prime minister] who represents the real feelings of the people in Britain. And we want sanctions now!"

Mendi Msimang, representing the ANC, read a message from prisoners at Robben Island where Mandela had spent many years. "The sweet sounds of Wembley still reverberate in our ears," the message read. "Not the high walls, the electrified sensors, or the iron bars could stop your message from reaching us. We are immensely strengthened as a result."

SWAPO General Secretary Andimba Toivo ja Toivo drew huge applause when he denounced Thatcher as an accomplice of

the apartheid system. A giant video screen broadcast of a special message from Winnie Mandela, an ANC leader and Nelson Mandela's wife, also drew prolonged applause.

Other speakers at the rally included Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu; Richard Attenborough, director of the film *Cry Freedom*; and secretary general of the British Commonwealth, Shridath Ramphal.

The march was peppered with banners of trade unions, political groups, and hundreds of local anti-apartheid organizations. Placards and slogans demanded freedom for Mandela, a reprieve for the Sharpeville 6, and sanctions against the Pretoria regime.

For many young people on the march this was their first demonstration. "I'm here because I was moved by the message of the Wembley concert," one of them said. "Until Mandela and the people of South Africa are free, none of us are free."

The day before the rally Mandela's release had been a central theme of the Durham miners' gala in the northeast of Britain. A number of miners' contingents from Nottingham, South Yorkshire, and South Wales participated in the London demonstration.

A contingent of workers from the Ford plant in east London also marched. On the Friday before the demonstration a factory gate meeting of day-shift workers at the Dagenham plant heard ANC leader Indres

*Continued on Page 13*

## Socialists' ballot drive shifts to high gear in N.Y.

BY GREG McCARTAN

NEW YORK — The petitioning drive to collect well over the required 20,000 signatures to place the Socialist Workers presidential ticket on the ballot in New York is getting into high gear. The candidates are James Warren for president and Kathleen Mickells for vice-president. Petitioners also aim to get the name of senatorial candidate James Harris on the ballot.

Campaign supporters have set themselves the goal of collecting 35,000 to 40,000 signatures and selling 2,000 copies of the Pathfinder pamphlet with the Socialist Workers Party national committee's *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*. They are also aiming to sell 300 subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* and single copies of *New International*.

The drive has drawn participation from a number of workers and youth who have just recently begun reading the socialist publications or who are supporting a socialist candidate for the first time.

One woman who joined a petitioning team in New York's garment district in mid-Manhattan said, "We didn't just go out to collect signatures, but to explain that an economic crisis is coming, what our demands are, and that we want a discussion on these things. We found a lot of people agreed with what is written in the Action Program."

After five days of petitioning, campaigners have collected 6,700 signatures and sold 500 Action Programs.

Francisco, a worker from Brooklyn, joined 85 petitioners on July 16 for the first

*Continued on Page 5*

# Portraits of Bishop, Iranian heroes added to Pathfinder mural

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — The press operators and printing press that form the center of the mural now going up on the south wall of the Pathfinder Building here are shown churning out large sheets of paper. On the sheets are being painted portraits of working-class leaders whose works are published by Pathfinder, the publishing house with offices in the building.

One of these sheets now frames a portrait-in-progress of Maurice Bishop, who looks out over the West Side Highway, where tens of thousands of motorists drive by the six-story mural each day.

Bishop was the central leader of the revolution on the Caribbean island of Grenada from 1979 until 1983, when he was murdered in the wake of a coup that overthrew the revolutionary government he headed.

Pathfinder published and distributes *Maurice Bishop Speaks: The Grenada Revolution 1979-83*, a collection of his speeches and writings.

The painting of Bishop was begun by Maxine Broderick, a cousin of the late revolutionary leader and a strong supporter of the Grenada revolution.

Broderick, who lives in New York City, visited Grenada every year from 1971 to 1983. She has also been to Grenada several times since the U.S. invasion that followed the 1983 coup.

"I knew Maurice, I always had confidence in him, and I tried to help him in any way I could," she said.

Broderick is a professional photographer as well as a painter, and much of her work deals with the developments in the revolution.

"A major aim of my work now," she said, "is to help get the Grenadian people believing in themselves again, and to help prepare a second revolution. I want to help preserve the legacy of everything that was undertaken by the revolution, and all the things Grenadian people did for themselves in those years."

From that standpoint, she said, "the opportunity to work on the mural was very exciting."



Militant/Selva Nebbia

Portrait-in-progress of Grenadian revolutionary leader Maurice Bishop.

## Int'l socialist conference slated for Ohio

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Hundreds of workers, students, and political activists from around the country will be gathering at Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio, August 6-11 for the 34th national convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

During the same week, when the convention is not in session, an international educational and active workers conference will also be taking place. Groups and individuals who circulate Pathfinder literature in Canada, Britain, New Zealand, Iceland, France, Sweden, Australia, and the United States will be organizing and participating in the conference. Revolutionaries from South Africa, Grenada, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, and Iran have also been invited to attend, along with representatives of the Palestinian struggle.

During the convention sessions, delegates elected by SWP branches will be discussing and voting on a draft political resolution submitted by the SWP national committee. This resolution is being discussed now by SWP branches around the country in preparation for the election of delegates to the convention.

The political resolution centers on burning questions facing the world working class: the meaning of the October 1987 stock market crash; the coming world de-

pression and social crisis; the evolution of the world capitalist economy since World War II, which led to the crash; the changes in the international working class since the 1930s; and the tasks of communists in building mass parties capable of leading the workers and farmers in the coming struggles.

Delegates will also be discussing and voting on an "Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis." Presented by the SWP national committee, this program proposes immediate measures around which working people internationally can unify themselves to fight the effects of the deepening crisis: a shorter workweek with no cut in pay; affirmative action for Blacks, Latinos, other minorities, and women; and cancellation of the Third World debt. This program is being widely circulated in pamphlet form in English and in the current issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* in Spanish. It will come out in a Spanish-language pamphlet soon.

During the week, classes will be held on the main themes of the political resolution and Action Program, which will be open for discussion to all conference participants.

In the evenings, a series of special events will take place, including a cultural

illustrations, and other art work.

After returning to Iran from an earlier stay in the United States, Nodjoumi participated in the mammoth demonstrations and other activities that brought down the shah's regime in 1979. He came to the

event to celebrate the Pathfinder mural; a panel featuring revolutionary leaders from around the world; international workshops to discuss circulation of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International*, and Pathfinder literature; and a rally to celebrate the new books published by Pathfinder and the international expansion of the publishing house.

Translation to Spanish and French will be available during the convention and conference sessions, workshops, and evening events.

Throughout the week, there will be many opportunities for informal discussion. Sports activities, evening social events, and other recreation is planned.

Housing is provided in the college's dormitories; meals are served in the cafeterias. Inexpensive housing is available for those who need it. Child care is organized by parents in collaboration with conference staff.

Those who would like to find out more about — or who would like to join — the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance are invited to attend the convention and international conference.

For more information, write or call the SWP branch nearest you (see listing on page 12), or write SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

United States again in 1980.

Iranian friends, he said, told him about the mural and suggested that he paint some heroes of the Iranian revolutionary struggle into it. Now one of the group scenes surrounding the printing press in the mural includes striking portraits of Sattar Khan and Baeq Khan.

Sattar Khan and Baeq Khan were leaders of the 1905-11 revolution — often called the "Constitutional Revolution" — against the monarchy, feudal-type institutions, and British and Russian imperialist domination.

The upheaval in Iran was inspired in part by the 1905 revolutionary upsurge against the tsar's regime in Russia.

Sattar Khan and Baeq Khan were leaders of the struggle in Tabriz, the principal city in Iranian Azerbaijan, which was one of the main centers of the revolution. Azerbaijanis are the largest oppressed nationality in Iran. Sattar Khan was from a peasant family. Baeq Khan was a master bricklayer.

When the shah used Cossack troops — mercenary soldiers from Russia — to try to crush the revolt, Sattar Khan and Baeq Khan organized armed resistance forcing the monarch to take refuge in the Russian embassy. A parliamentary regime was established for a time. The Russian and British imperialists then sent troops.

In 1909 Russian troops succeeded in occupying Tabriz. In 1911, as the revolution was being rolled back, Sattar Khan and Baeq Khan went to Tehran, where they were forced to give up their arms. Later, Sattar Khan was gunned down. According to some accounts, the bullets were fired from the British embassy. He died some time later.

### The Militant tells the truth — Subscribe today!

"The Militant's on-the-ground reports from Nicaragua are extremely valuable. No other journal in the U.S. consistently covers the progress of the Nicaraguan revolution in the villages, hamlets, and barrios where, despite the multifaceted U.S. war, it is happening. The Militant is a reliable source of real information about the ongoing Sandinista revolution.

— Grant Fisher  
coeditor *Nicaragua Information Bulletin*

#### Enclosed is

- \$4.00 for 12 weeks, new readers
- \$9.00 for 12 weeks, renewals
- \$17.00 for six months
- \$30.00 for one year       \$55.00 for two years
- For \$3.50 additional, send *New International* issue No. 6 with my six-month or longer *Militant* subscription.

SPECIAL OFFER

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone \_\_\_\_\_ Union/School/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Send to THE MILITANT, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

### The Militant

Closing news date: July 20, 1988

Coeditors: MARGARET JAYKO and DOUG JENNESS  
Circulation Director: NORTON SANDLER  
Nicaragua Bureau Director: LARRY SEIGLE  
Business Manager: JIM WHITE  
Editorial Staff: Susan Apstein, Fred Feldman, Arthur Hughes, Cindy Jaquith, Susan LaMont, Sam Manuel, Harvey McArthur (Nicaragua), Harry Ring, Judy White (Nicaragua).

Published weekly except one week in August and the last week of December by the *Militant* (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Telex, 497-4278; Business Office, (212) 929-3486. Nicaragua Bureau, Apartado 2222, Managua. Telephone 24845.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The *Militant* Business Office, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The *Militant*, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S., Canada, Latin America: for one-year subscription send \$30, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$65. Britain, Ireland, Continental Europe, Africa: £22 for one year, £12 for six months, or £6 for three-month renewal. Send check or international money order made out to Pathfinder Press and send to Pathfinder, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England. Australia, Asia, Pacific: send Australian \$60 to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 37, Leichhardt, Sydney, NSW 2040, Australia.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant*'s views. These are expressed in editorials.

# Veterans convoy vehicles cross border

## Protests help force gov't to allow delivery of aid to Nicaragua

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Fifteen vehicles filled with humanitarian aid to the war-devastated people of Nicaragua have broken through a U.S. government blockade in Laredo, Texas.

For weeks the Treasury Department and U.S. Customs Service officials prevented the Veterans Peace Convoy from getting across the border between the United States and Mexico. This, they said, was to enforce Washington's trade embargo against Nicaragua.

At its peak, the convoy consisted of 106 men and women and 38 trucks filled with food, clothing, and medical supplies collected in dozens of U.S. cities.

After customs agents seized four trucks at the Laredo border on June 15, the convoy took its protest to Washington, D.C., before returning again to Laredo.

Hundreds of messages poured into Congress and the Treasury Department demanding that the convoy be allowed to continue its journey. Protests were also held in Mexico.

The 15 vehicles got across the border between July 11 and 13.

This victory was preceded by an attack on the convoy July 9 by local police, apparently under the direction of federal agents. The cop attack resulted in eight veterans being arrested. Five sustained injuries.

Vietnam veterans Raul Valdez and Bob Livesey were in the lead convoy vehicle, dubbed "Pathfinder," at the spot where customs officials blocked a bridge leading to the border.

After four hours and with no warning or incident, cops sprayed mace directly in the face of the two veterans while they were seated in their pickup truck. The cops, with federal customs agents looking on, dragged Valdez, Livesey, and six others from their vehicles and arrested them.

The veterans were released from jail four hours later and face misdemeanor charges of blocking a public highway and resisting arrest.

All the arrested veterans subsequently returned to the border and are with the first 15 vehicles that have gotten through.

Pressure on the White House, Treasury Department, and U.S. customs have been mounting as publicity and support for the convoy has grown.

"They mace us, they arrest us, they break our windows, they impound our vehicles. And then all of a sudden they let us pass," Raul Valdez explained.

Attorneys for the veterans have also filed a lawsuit in federal court challenging the trade embargo against Nicaragua. The first hearing took place July 13 in Laredo.

The convoy participants are determined to build upon this initial breakthrough and continue the flow of material aid to Nicaragua. The 15 vehicles and aid is scheduled to arrive in Managua, Nicaragua, on July 25 after passing through Mexico and Honduras.

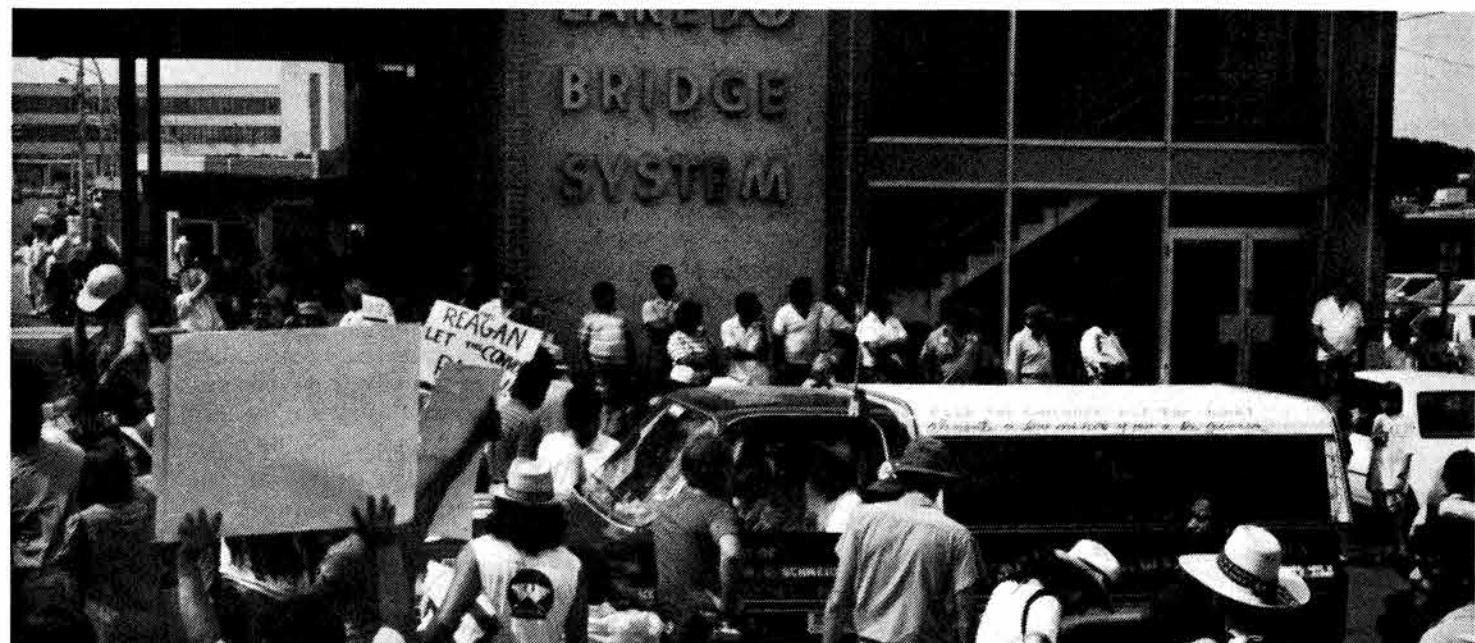
A campaign has begun to hold Honduran authorities responsible for the safe and speedy passage of the convoy through that country.

For more information on the convoy, write Veterans Peace Convoy to Nicaragua, 2025 I St. NW, Room 313, Washington, D.C. 20006. Telephone (202) 785-7357.

**Coming in our next issue ...**

**Advances by liberation forces in southern Africa**

An article by Doreen Weppler describes advances being registered by liberation forces in South Africa and Namibia following the apartheid regime's defeat by Cuban and Angolan troops at Cuito Cuanavale.



Militant/Steve Marshall

Protest in support of veterans at Laredo checkpoint on June 15. Customs officials seized four vehicles that day. Vets took protest to Washington before returning to Laredo for July 11-13 crossing.

## Women miners hold 10th conference

BY MARY ZINS

PITTSBURGH — More than 225 women miners and their supporters, as well as members of the United Mine Workers of America family auxiliaries, met here June 24-26 for the 10th National Conference of Women Miners.

Sixteen women and men from Britain who had participated in the 1984-85 British miners' strike attended. The delegation was led by Ann Scargill, who brought greetings to the conference from Women Against Pit Closures, and from the miners' union. Four women oil workers from Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 823-4, on strike against British Petroleum in Pennsylvania, participated as did two paperworkers from Lock Haven, Pennsylvania. Unionists there have been on strike for more than a year against International Paper Co.

The conference was sponsored by the Coal Employment Project (CEP) and the Coal Mining Women's Support Team. The CEP was formed a decade ago to help women get and maintain jobs in the mines.

In his keynote address, United Mine Workers (UMWA) President Richard Trumka noted that this conference was the first national gathering of the mine union's auxiliaries. The CEP's decision to invite them, he said, "represents the best principles of unionism."

More than 200 coal companies have yet to sign a contract with the mine union this contract year, Trumka explained, and hundreds of union members are currently on strike. Trumka praised the CEP's role over the past five years in backing family-leave legislation, which would allow a parent to take unpaid leave from work before and after childbirth, adoption, or because of family illness. He concluded by challenging women miners to keep building the CEP, to continue working with the family auxiliaries, and to join him "to defeat Reaganomics."

Another keynote speech was given by June Rostan, coordinator of the Southern Empowerment Project.

One of the largest workshops included leaders of UWMA family auxiliaries and Women Against Pit Closures. Representatives from UMWA District 28 in Virginia, where the union is fighting to force Pittston Coal to sign a contract, and from the Decker and Big Horn strikes in Wyoming and Montana were among the workshop participants. (The Decker and Big Horn strikes have since ended.)

Mary and Tunis Smith from Citizens for Justice in Kentucky also attended the conference. This committee is raising funds and winning support for five Kentucky UMWA members framed up on charges stemming from the death of a scab coal hauler during the 1984-85 strike against A.T. Massey Coal Co. The District 28 auxiliary presented a check to the committee during the conference.

A lively discussion took place through-

out the meeting about whether women miners still face discrimination, how the UMWA can more effectively defend its women members, and what role the CEP should play.

At the "UMWA issues" workshop, an Alabama miner explained that most of the women in her mine are general laborers and belt shovels, and have trouble getting trained in other jobs. The workshop leader from Alabama agreed. "I took electrical training at the mine, and the company did everything it could to try to fail me," she said.

A miner from West Virginia asked how she could get her UMWA local and district to back her when she faced discrimination. Another said that layoffs in the coal industry have left only two women in her mine, out of 525 workers. A miner from Alabama raised the need for preferential seniority lists, so that when layoffs do occur, the percentage of women in the mines doesn't go down. "We need to discuss that these layoffs are discriminatory," she said.

At the workshop on future directions for the CEP, Alabama miner Lisa Parnell said that discrimination against women is company inspired, but often the men and union go along with it. Some disagreed, but Illinois

miner Paula Price said, "I know just what she's talking about, and an injury to one is an injury to all." We need to educate our districts about problems facing women miners, she added.

A Kentucky miner explained that at her mine, the company was trying to fire workers over absenteeism. Women miners especially need more help in trying to keep their jobs, she said. A Pennsylvania miner, Kipp Dawson, explained that both the union and the CEP were important in defending women miners.

Resolutions were passed by the conference pledging to keep working with UMWA family auxiliaries, continue the CEP's work on family leave legislation and safety issues, and work with the UMWA on compiling a list of instances of discrimination and harassment against women miners.

A resolution backing the five framed-up Kentucky miners and urging participants to raise funds for this case was passed unanimously. Madeline Rogero, new executive director of the CEP, was also introduced to the meeting.

*Mary Zins is a member of UMWA Local 2295 in Albers, Illinois.*

## N.Y. official: 'Maybe no crime committed in Brawley case'

BY SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK — State Attorney General Robert Abrams, the special prosecutor assigned by Gov. Mario Cuomo to investigate the attack on an upstate Black teenager, said July 15, "There may not have been any crime committed here."

The teenager, Tawana Brawley, was found on Nov. 28, 1987, in a severely abused condition after being missing for four days. She has said she was abducted, beaten, and raped by at least six white men, one of whom she said had a badge and told Brawley he was a cop.

"It might not have happened the way she said," quipped Abrams. "It might not have involved law enforcement officials, maybe it was consensual."

Abrams' assertion comes in the wake of an extensive report in the *City Sun*, a weekly circulated widely in New York's Black communities. The report excerpted medical records of the ambulance crew that picked up Brawley and the two hospitals where she was treated.

Those records show that Brawley was found partially naked and wrapped inside a plastic bag. Patches of her hair had been pulled and cut from her head. Excrement had been rubbed onto her head and body. The word "nigger" had been written on her stomach and the letters "KKK" across her

chest. She did not respond to pain, voice, or ammonia.

The records also show that a doctor at one of the hospitals diagnosed Brawley as the victim of "possible sexual assault." The other hospital concluded she had been the victim of "rape."

At the advice of their legal advisers Brawley family members have refused to cooperate with the grand jury established to investigate the case. The Brawleys' advisers have demanded that Abrams be removed from the case and the grand jury disbanded. Abrams vowed that Tawana Brawley's mother, Glenda, will eventually be arrested on contempt charges for refusing to testify before the jury. He placed no time limit on when the arrest would take place.

Abrams said that August 11, the date the grand jury expires, is his target for completing the investigation. The attorney general added that the grand jury would then write a report that will say what it believes happened to Brawley.

From the start, police and government officials have attempted to downplay the attack on Brawley. Governor Cuomo appointed Abrams as special prosecutor in the case only after both the Dutchess County district attorney and a court-appointed local prosecutor successively removed themselves from the case due to "conflict of interest."

# Growing crisis in imperialism's neocolonial system

The historical roots of the contemporary Caribbean crisis can be traced back to the brutal system of plantation slavery in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries and its evolution into a socio-economic system of capitalist relations during the colonial and neocolonial periods of the 19th and 20th centuries.

The emergence of the colonial system of monopoly capitalism in the last decades of the 19th century changed the role the Caribbean and the entire Third World would



**CARIB NOTES**  
Don Rojas

play in the worldwide expansion of the capitalist mode of production and its international division of labor.

The economic role assigned to the West European colonies in the Caribbean, Asia, and Africa was threefold: as suppliers of mineral and agricultural raw materials to the metropolitan centers, as markets for their industrial products, and as territories for investment activities. It was according to this division of labor and these functions that the economies of the colonial countries developed up to World War II, and that to a lesser and more modified extent continues up to now.

However, the postwar period saw the emergence of a new global correlation of forces and alterations in the role played by the colonies and semicolonies in the new capitalist international division of labor. These changes were brought about by the development of the productive forces in the advanced capitalist countries spurred on by changes in world political relations to the advantage of the United States, which emerged relatively unscathed from the war as the most powerful capitalist country.

The effect of these developments on Europe's colonies in the 1950s and 1960s was significant. The development of science and technology, for example, diminished the importance of certain traditional raw materials. It increased the productivity of agriculture in the developed countries while state intervention in the processes of monopoly capital widened and guaranteed opportunities for profitable private investments within the national boundaries of the advanced capitalist countries.

This latter tendency had the most serious impact on the Third World as investment of surplus capital in the '50s and '60s moved away from the underdeveloped to the developed countries. Another important factor was that after the world war, trade between the imperialist countries and the semicolonial world decreased relative to the increase in trade among the imperialist countries. This was caused by both the postwar structural changes and domestic expansion in the developed capitalist countries.

These new developments in world capitalism unleashed contradictions, imbalances, and tensions previ-

ously unknown in the system — both in the industrially developed core and the oppressed periphery. Among the main new problems, which in recent times have become endemic, are shorter and weaker recovery periods in the business cycle, declines in the average rate of profit leading to stagnation in capital accumulation, low growth rates, persistently high unemployment, and chronic monetary and financial instability. This was dramatically illustrated by the Oct. 19, 1987, stock market crashes and the plunge in the value of the dollar over the past two years.

The growing crisis in imperialism's neocolonial system has at its roots these above-mentioned structural changes in the core countries, changes that put severe checks on development possibilities for the Caribbean and the entire Third World. But these structural changes in the imperialist centers did not decrease the structural dependency of the peripheral countries.

The collapse of the colonial system in the Caribbean in the 1960s brought about the disappearance of the most extreme forms of administrative, legal, and political dependence, but this in itself did not put an end to the relations of dependence, oppression, and exploitation. Indeed, the transnational monopoly corporations moved swiftly in the '60s, '70s, and '80s to fill the power vacuum left by the pullout of the British and introduced new forms and methods of reorganizing and strengthening the relations of dependence. This was especially true for trade, monetary and financial matters, technology, and capital flows.

## Iran calls for cease-fire in Persian Gulf war

### Continued from front page

impartial body was formed immediately to determine the party responsible for the war. Such a body is called for in the Security Council resolution, but it is to be formed after the cease-fire takes effect. The Iranian government's proposal was rejected by Washington, and Iran was portrayed as the intransigent party.

Within the past year the U.S. Navy in the Persian Gulf opened a new front against Iran in the guise of protecting freedom of navigation. Its armada in the gulf made it possible for Iraq to hit Iranian shipping and Iranian ports with impunity.

Increasingly U.S. military operations against Iranian armed forces became synchronized with Iraqi attacks. U.S. naval vessels blew up Iranian oil platforms, and sank its ships. One consequence of the Pentagon's policy was the downing of the Iranian Airbus on July 3 by the U.S. warship *Vincennes*.

Another development was that the Iraqi regime drastically intensified its war against Iran's civilian population this past year. On February 29 Tehran was bombarded with modified Scud missiles that delivered their 300 pounds of explosives indiscriminately and with no warning. By midafternoon the next day, 17 missiles had hit Tehran, destroying mainly homes and hospitals. For six weeks Tehran was bombarded by missiles, spreading panic among the city's population.

Major portions of the middle and upper-

middle class population of north Tehran fled the city to safer towns and suburbs.

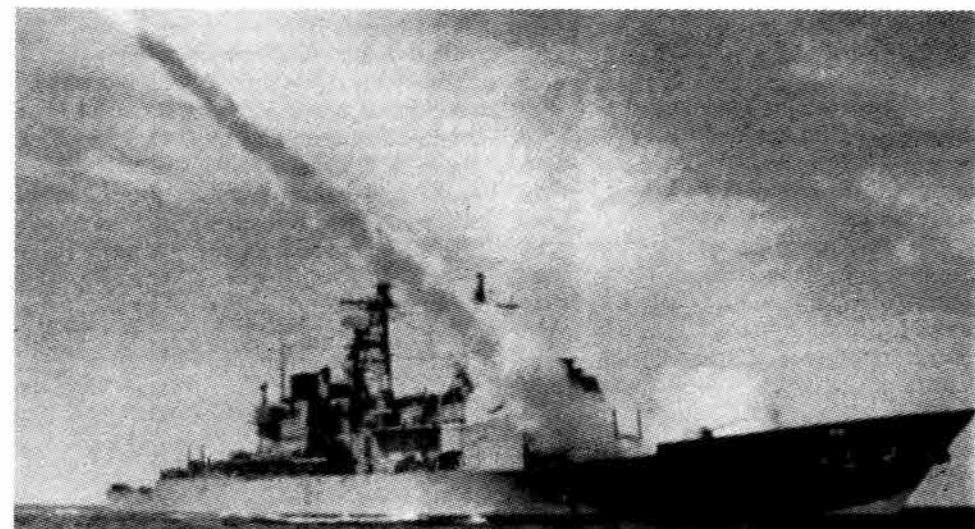
The working class and poor population of south Tehran, which have supplied the fronts with volunteers during the war, were left to fend for themselves in the makeshift public shelters designated by the government.

These public shelters included the parking garages in the ground floors of some large buildings, which are located mainly in north Tehran. One participant wrote, "These parking lots became like an indoor picnic ground. With each family occupying a corner for itself, cooking, eating, and sleeping there overnight during the whole period of missile attack."

Elementary and high schools were closed during the Iraqi missile attack and some of the universities held their classes in public shelters or in the lower floors of high-rise hotel buildings. Government offices were nominally kept open and so were the factories, but the bazaar, the traditional trading center, was closed.

The Iraqi regime fired 160 missiles into Tehran and other Iranian cities. This amounted to seven missiles for each missile that was launched from Iran in retaliation. When Iraqi missile attacks finally stopped, the prices for daily necessities started exploding. Working people said that bazaar merchants were making up for the profit lost when the missiles forced them to close down.

Two weeks after Tehran was hit by the Scud missiles, Iranian revolutionary guards in unison with Kurdish guerrillas



USS *Vincennes*, which shot down Iran airliner, test-fires rocket.

launched a major ground attack on Halabja and Darbandikan 150 miles north of Baghdad, Iraq's capital. This was part of a cooperative effort between the Iraqi Kurds and the Iranians. During the previous year Revolutionary Guards had provided training and ammunition for the Kurdish fighters and planned joint campaigns. In this campaign the Kurds led the assault and the Kurdish towns were easily taken. For the first time in the war Iranian troops were able to control a populated area of some 70,000. Tehran TV showed the Kurdish villagers welcoming the guerrillas and Revolutionary Guards as their liberators.

After the Iraqi military lost the battle they saturated the area with poison gas. Some estimates put the number of Kurdish peasants that were killed by the Saddam Hussein regime at 5,000. The U.S. government blocked a UN Security Council dis-

cussion of this mass murder committed by a government against its own citizens. The State Department accused both Iran and Iraq of using chemical weapons, although there has been no evidence of Iranian use of these weapons.

Later the Iraqi regime threatened to also attack Iranian cities with chemical weapons if Iran did not agree to accept peace on their terms.

In April Iraq launched an offensive, again with chemical bombs, to recapture the Fao Peninsula. While this offensive was in progress the U.S. Navy engaged and sank six Iranian ships in the gulf. Iranian forces retreated and relinquished the peninsula that they had taken in 1986.

By July 18, when Iran accepted the UN resolution, the Iraqi forces had gone on the offensive and recaptured almost all the territory they had lost to Iran.

## Black victim of N.Y. cop frame-up gets mistrial for 2nd time

NEW YORK — For the second time, a judge has declared a mistrial in the case of Larry Davis, a Black youth charged with attempted murder. He was the target of a police shootout in which six cops were wounded.

Judge Bernard Fried declared the mistrial June 28, granting a motion by defense attorney William Kunstler. The prosecutor had concurred with the motion.

Kunstler's motion came after the judge removed a seated juror. The juror had said his wife was concerned that if he voted to find Davis innocent he would face police harassment. But, he added, he was still willing to serve and felt he could be impartial.

The first mistrial had been declared by Judge Fried May 16 when he ruled that the defense had abused its right of peremptory challenge to exclude whites from the jury.

In a trial, both sides have the right of peremptory challenge, with which a given number of prospective jurors can be disqualified without explanation. In 1986, the Supreme Court ruled prosecutors could not

use peremptory challenges in a racially biased way.

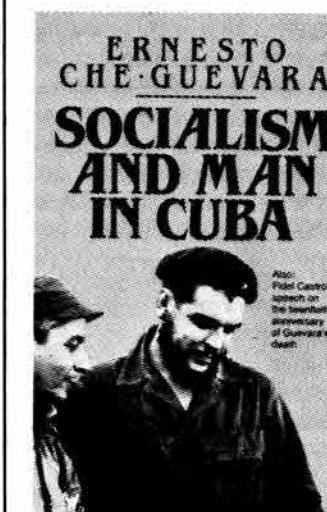
The Davis trial has been under way since April. The attempted murder charge stems from a 1986 incident in which 27 armed cops descended on an apartment where Davis was. In an exchange of gunfire, six cops were wounded and Davis fled. He was arrested 17 days later.

Police officials have given conflicting accounts of why the police were there. According to one version, they wanted to arrest him for the murder of four alleged drug dealers. The other version is that the 27 armed cops were there simply to question him about the killings.

The defense will argue that the police shot first and Davis acted in self-defense. They contend the cops came to kill Davis because of his knowledge of police involvement in drug dealing.

Davis has already been tried on the charge of killing the suspected drug dealers. The defense argued that Davis was the victim of a police frame-up and, March 3, the jury concurred, finding him not guilty on all counts.

## Che Guevara's Socialism and Man in Cuba



Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia has reissued Ernesto Che Guevara's well-known article on the first years of the Cuban revolution. This 48-page pamphlet in English or Spanish also includes Cuban President Fidel Castro's 1987 speech marking the 20th anniversary of Che's death.

Available for \$1.95 from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Specify English or Spanish pamphlet. Please include 75¢ for postage and handling. Or from Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia, P.O. Box 37, Leichhardt, Sydney NSW 2040, Australia • Pathfinder, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England.

# Ballot drive in N.Y. shifts to high gear

Continued from front page  
Saturday mobilization of the three-week drive.

After reading the socialist newspapers for several months, and attending several Militant Labor Forums, he decided to go out and help explain the party's perspectives to other working people. "I was really happy with what we accomplished today. It was very important," he said. "I found we could get into some good discussions with people."

As part of the kickoff of the drive vice-presidential candidate Mickells spent four days on a campaign tour in New York.

Several campaign supporters accompanied her to Bush Terminal in Brooklyn. This is a large industrial area, with many garment shops. Although some shops are unionized, many are not. Socialist workers have had a regular presence there over the past year with sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* and have gotten to know a number of workers.

Mickells met with two workers at a nearby coffee house after their shift ended. Both had become regular readers of *Perspectiva Mundial* and were quite familiar with the explanations and proposals of the campaign.

During the discussion one of the workers decided to subscribe to the *Militant* in order to get weekly coverage and analysis of the struggles of the working class, especially in Nicaragua. Through the course of the discussion he also decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

## New York

### Socialist Workers campaign events

Hear Socialist Workers Party Presidential Candidate James Warren. Sat., July 23, 7:30 p.m., party to follow. Donation: \$3.

**Revolutionary Cuba Today.** Speaker: Rena Cacoullos, national chairperson Young Socialist Alliance. Sat. July 30, 7:30 p.m. To be followed by party celebrating the completion of Socialist Workers campaign petitioning drive in New York State. Donation: forum \$3; party \$1.50.

Both events at 79 Leonard St., Manhattan. Sponsor: New York Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 219-3679.

These two garment workers attended a forum July 16 featuring Mickells.

During the discussion at the forum one person asked why, if forced to lower the workweek with no cut in pay, the bosses wouldn't just make workers produce in 30 hours what they had been producing in 40.

Mickells answered that "the fight to shorten the workweek will require a mass international movement of working people. If it can win a shorter workweek," she said, "it will also be strong enough to try to make sure the bosses don't impose new speedups in working conditions."

A petitioning team also took Mickells to Penn Station in Manhattan, where regular sales and political discussions have been conducted with rail workers. Several workers said that while they agreed that a depression is coming "people are too apathetic to do anything about it."

Mickells explained that "as the crisis deepens and a depression sets in, the impact on millions of people will be devastating. The conditions this depression will drag people into will mean that working people will begin to see that we need to act to protect ourselves as an international class. But what we do today to construct a leadership is decisive. Those of us who know what is coming and see the need for leadership also need an organization, like the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party."

Since the beginning of the petitioning drive three people have decided to join the YSA. One woman met a team of petitioners and came into Pathfinder Books and the state campaign headquarters later the same day. That evening she attended a class on the *Communist Manifesto*, and after the discussion joined the YSA and started going out petitioning.

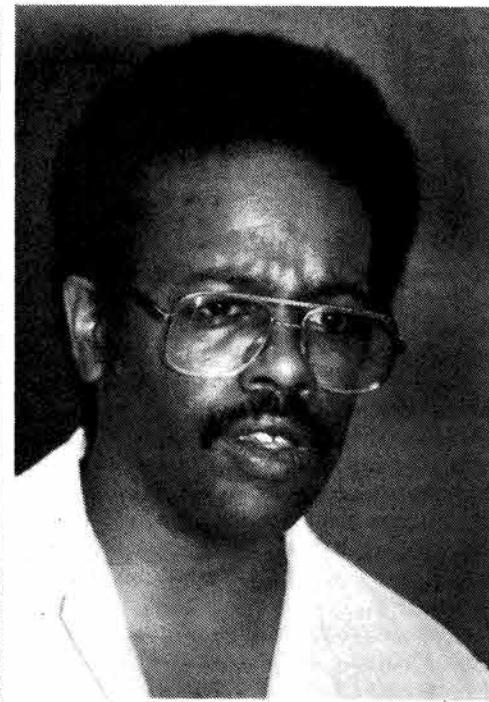
Campaign supporters here noted that they are running behind where they had hoped to be in collecting signatures. A big push is needed in the coming week to get back on target, they pointed out. Many petitioners said that discussing the SWP's proposed Action Program while collecting signatures was a challenge. But petitioners found that as they got better at explaining the ideas, more people would sign up to help get the candidates on the ballot.

Plans are under way to send teams of petitioners to other areas in New York State, in order to reach paperworkers, farmers, and students at campuses in Albany and elsewhere.

Help is needed to petition and cover the costs of the drive. Contact the Socialist Workers Campaign, 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone (212) 941-1174.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky



Militant/Janet Post

Socialist vice-presidential candidate Kathleen Mickells and senatorial candidate James Harris.

## All-out push needed in final days of campaign fund drive

BY KATHY WHEELER

The Socialist Workers 1988 National Campaign drive to raise \$50,000 is in its final week. The goal is within our reach. But it will take immediate action over the next few days on the part of all our supporters if we are to collect the remaining \$10,700 and complete the drive in full and on time. The final scoreboard will be printed in next week's issue of the *Militant*.

Some \$8,300 has been sent in over the past seven days. This is the largest amount collected in any single week of the drive.

Several more areas have met or gone over their goals. Supporters in Cleveland; Morgantown, West Virginia; St. Louis; Detroit; and Newark, New Jersey, join those in Austin, Minnesota, and Minneapolis-St. Paul; Kansas City, Missouri; and Salt Lake City, Utah, in reaching 100 percent.

Some areas may be able to go substantially over their goals. Supporters in St. Louis for example project collecting \$1,500, nearly double their original goal. Many of the larger donations there have come from supporters working forced overtime in the steel industry. Omaha, Nebraska, has raised its sights as well, by \$300.

Just as important are the final efforts needed in cities such as New York, which

has taken the highest goal, to reach the mark on time.

A few cities have the majority of their goals yet to collect. Supporters in Boston are working double-time to organize to send in their contributions by July 23.

The remaining amount needed to complete the national drive represents a substantial portion, roughly 20 percent, of the total funds the socialist '88 campaign projects raising. This money is urgently needed to help sustain all our campaign initiatives through to the election.

Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate James Warren and vice-presidential candidate Kathleen Mickells will be hitting the road again this fall. The effort to gain ballot status for the SWP candidates in several states is still ahead. The socialist campaign is attempting to get on the ballot in 18 states and Washington, D.C.

We also continue to send to everyone who writes into the campaign office to learn more about the socialist campaign complimentary copies of the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial*. These projects and others rest on our ability to finance them.

Kathy Wheeler is the treasurer of the Socialist Workers 1988 National Campaign Committee.

### Your help is needed . . .

## 1988 Socialist Workers Party \$50,000 campaign fund drive

May 21 – July 23

Supporters of the socialist ticket in 32 cities have set goals to make the fund a success. Below are the figures for each area.

	Goal	Collected
Atlanta	1,450	1,255
Austin, Minn.	500	500
Baltimore	1,150	590
Birmingham, Ala.	950	449
Boston	1,750	250
Charleston, W.V.	1,000	365
Chicago	2,200	1,670
Cleveland	1,150	1,150
Des Moines, Iowa	750	690
Detroit	1,350	1,390
Greensboro, N.C.	800	395
Houston	1,150	930
Kansas City	750	810
Los Angeles	3,250	3,116
Miami	1,450	575
Milwaukee	950	725
Morgantown, W.V.	1,150	1,160
New York	7,000	5,405
Newark, N.J.	3,000	3,100
Oakland, Calif.	1,700	1,549
Omaha, Neb.	1,100	1,070
Philadelphia	1,650	807
Phoenix	1,150	360
Pittsburgh	1,600	175

To make a contribution, please fill out the coupon below, and mail to Socialist Workers 1988 National Campaign Committee, 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013.

Enclosed is a check or money order for:  \$200  \$100  \$50  
 \$10  other

I endorse the Warren-Mickells ticket.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_

School/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

This ad has been paid for by the Socialist Workers 1988 National Campaign Committee, 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013.

## ACTION PROGRAM AVAILABLE IN PAMPHLET

Pathfinder has just published "An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis" proposed by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee. With preface by James Warren, SWP candidate for president. Also includes "The Fight for a Shorter Workweek, Yesterday and Today" by Doug Jenness. The pamphlet will appear soon in Spanish.

### ORDER YOUR BUNDLE NOW!

Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.  
\$1 each, with a 50 percent discount on orders of 10 or more.  
(Free for prisoners.)

Send 100 50 10  
How many in English? \_\_\_\_\_  
How many in Spanish? \_\_\_\_\_  
Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

# The 'elevator ride' in Des Moines

## Cop beatings widely known in city where activist fights frame-up

BY NORTON SANDLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — The city jail sits at the edge of downtown near the bank of the Des Moines River, a few blocks away from the state capitol.

Many working people have heard about the elevator in the jail.

"The elevator ride" is a Des Moines term," explained Gary Frantz, a member of the auto workers union at the Fawn vending machine plant. "While handcuffed two cops give you a ride in the elevator. You go in with no bruises and you come out beaten up."

Brian, a packinghouse worker at the Swift/Monfort plant on the city's east side, said the cops have beaten him twice. "Once was in the elevator. They beat another guy first, I saw him come out with his head split open. The cops asked me if I thought I was tough. I said no, but they beat me anyway. The second time," he explained, "they beat me in a police car."

Another woman described what happened to her brother-in-law. "They stop the elevator between floors," she said. "With your hands handcuffed behind you, they kick your legs out from under you and start beating you. They say you fell down drunk."

### Farms and factories

Des Moines is a regional agribusiness center bordered by fields of corn and soybeans. Hogs and some beef cattle and dairy cows are also raised on nearby farms.

John Deere has a large farm implement plant in Ankeny just outside Des Moines.

There's a Maytag appliance plant in Newton. Firestone and Armstrong tire companies have big factories in Des Moines itself. There are several meat-packing plants in the area including: Swift in Des Moines; Oscar Mayer in Perry, 45 minutes away; and Swift Independent in nearby Marshalltown.

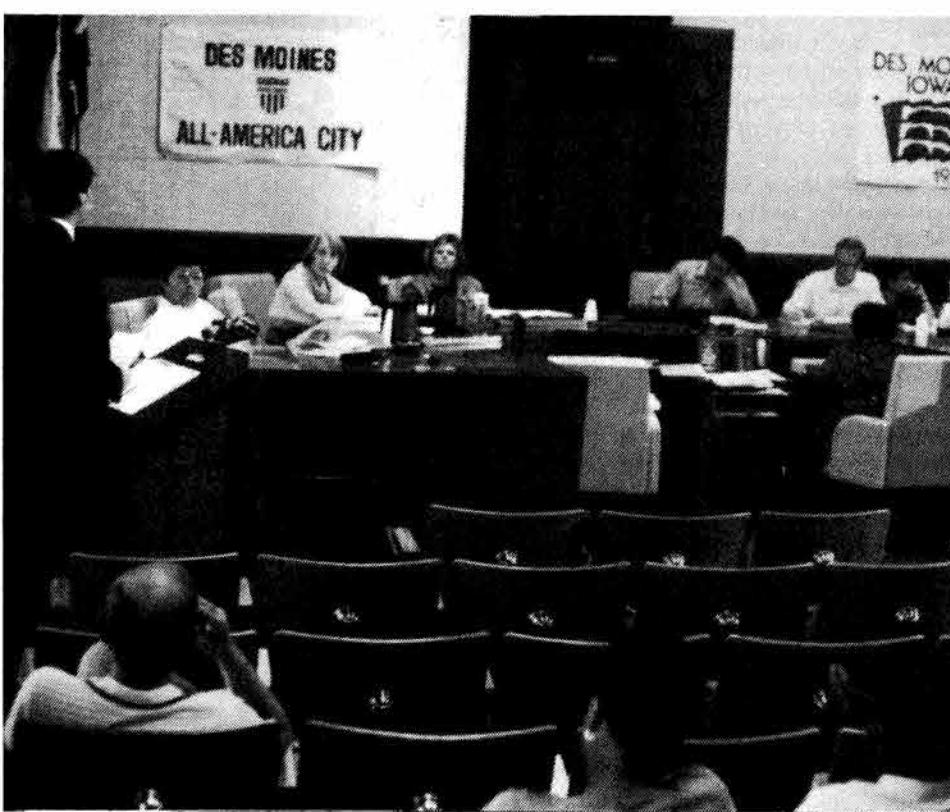
At the beginning of July, the Western International plant, where lawn machines and snow blowers were produced, shut its doors here. Six hundred workers lost their jobs.

In the 1980 census, Polk County, where Des Moines is located, had a population of just over 300,000. According to that census, 14,000 were Black, 2,200 Asian, and 700 American Indian. It is estimated the Latino population was 5,000.

As in many other U.S. cities, the composition of Des Moines has changed over the past decade. Standing outside the Swift plant at shift change or at a Hy-Vee supermarket on a Saturday afternoon, you meet many working people who were born in Kampuchea, Laos, Thailand, or Vietnam.

The city's Latino population is also growing, fueled by devastating economic conditions in Mexico, El Salvador, and other countries.

Signs of the farm depression of the past decade are abundant. It is common to meet workers in the city who have recently been forced off their land. Thousands more who



Militant/Stu Singer  
Curtis (at podium) speaking at Human Rights Commission hearing in May. Farm depression and immigration of Asians and Latinos has contributed to Des Moines' changing composition.

own farms or small acreages work long hours in the factories to make ends meet.

### Clive

Blacks make up less than 2 percent of the population in Iowa, but 20 percent of those in prison in the state are Black.

In February, participants in a "neighborhood crime watch" program in Clive, a predominantly white suburb of Des Moines, received a notice from the police department describing a robbery allegedly committed by a "large Black man."

The flyer went on to say, "If you see a Black male in your neighborhood at night, please call the Clive police immediately so that we can try to find out who the individual is."

The police chief claimed "nothing racial was meant" by the leaflet.

"The flyer angered a lot of people," explained Alfredo Alvarez, chairperson of the Des Moines Human Rights Commission. Alvarez said he began calling others about "a protest march on Clive."

Four hundred people marched from a K-Mart store to the Clive City Hall on February 20. "Our organizations are here to put everyone on notice that wherever racism rears its head and ugly fangs, we will face it," Alvarez told the crowd.

"The problem is bigger than Clive, bigger than Des Moines. It engulfs the whole state of Iowa," said Roy Swann, head of the Des Moines Black Ministerial Alliance. He pointed to unemployment for Black youth which, he said, is 40 percent in a state with an overall unemployment rate of 7 percent.

### Immigration raid

A few days later on March 1, armed Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents invaded the Swift plant arresting a Salvadoran-born and 16 Mexican-born workers. In some cases, the "evidence" used against the workers was lifted from their amnesty application forms under the government's newly enacted immigration law.

Material on those forms is supposed to be confidential. But INS agents compared it to names and social security numbers maintained in Swift's personnel records. The Swift 17 were charged with felonies for having false social security cards.

To many at the plant, it seemed as though the cops, with management's cooperation, were looking for specific people. They grabbed some Latino workers, but ignored others.

United Food and Commercial Workers union member Marian Bustin said she came out of the cafeteria at lunchtime and saw "a bunch of workers with handcuffs on and a bunch of immigration cops."

In another area of the plant, a small group of workers cheered the arrests.

That afternoon and for the next few days, the raid sparked a big discussion.

### How you can help defend Mark Curtis

- Send messages to the Polk County prosecutor James Smith and police chief William Moulder demanding the charges against Curtis be dropped and that the cops who beat him be prosecuted. Write: James Smith, Polk County Attorney, 408 Polk County Courthouse, 5th and Mulberry, Des Moines, Iowa 50309. And Chief of Police William Moulder, 25 E. 1st St., Des Moines, Iowa 50309.

- Funds are urgently needed. Though the Mark Curtis Defense Committee has gone over the \$45,000 fundraising goal set earlier, funds are needed to cover ongoing expenses.

- Copies of the messages and contributions should be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

porch while she checked inside. He never saw her again. The cops arrived a minute later and arrested him.

A police blotter version of the events appeared the next day in the *Des Moines Register*. An 11-year old boy was credited with tipping off the cops that his 15-year-old sister was being raped. That version has been amplified and repeated a number of times in the press since.

Curtis is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and former national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance. He became involved in politics as a student at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque 11 years ago. Between 1981 and 1986 he lived in Birmingham, Alabama, where he was a member of the United Auto Workers union and a leader of a Central America solidarity coalition.

After a stint in the Young Socialist Alliance national office in New York, Curtis moved to Des Moines in the fall of 1986.

Mark Curtis' name is in the FBI spy files on the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), which were released earlier this year. He is described as "acting in a leadership role in the Birmingham area."

The government also used its investigation of CISPES as a pretext to spy on 150 other organizations and hundreds of individuals.

These documents made the rounds of police computers across the country.

As part of his defense, Curtis is trying to secure his complete files from the FBI.

### Beating at jail

Curtis says, his case "is political from beginning to end. I never tried to rape anybody."

After the arrest, Curtis was taken to city jail. He was told he could make a phone call. His wife Kate Kaku was at work so he called his neighbors, Stu Singer and Jackie Floyd.

In an April 11 letter to the police department demanding an investigation of his arrest and beating, Curtis explained what happened next.

"Two officers took me into a small room off the booking area. They ordered me to undress and I did," said Curtis.

"A third officer entered with a tape recorder and told me that I was going to have to confess to the charges against me. Another officer said I had raped a girl."

"I said that I wanted to talk to a lawyer. One of the officers asked me if I was a 'Mexican-lover' and a 'colored-lover.'

"I told the police officers that I did not want to talk to them," Curtis continued. "One of them grabbed me from behind in a chokehold and held me so tight that I could not breathe. Then he pulled me to the floor, and another jumped on top of me, ramming his knee into my chest and stomach. I was then hit in the face with a club. Hospital records show that it broke the cheekbone and cut me around my eye."

Then the cops took Curtis to Iowa Methodist Hospital "where police handcuffed me to the table where I was being stitched up, and my ankles were painfully cuffed together."

"The police told people at the hospital that I was a rapist and that I had AIDS. After bringing me back from the hospital, I was put in a cold, bare cell for the entire night, and not given any clothes or blanket."

The cops filed additional misdemeanor assault charges against Curtis accusing him of initiating a fight and trying to reach for a gun in a holster, which the cops say was empty.

Later he received a bill from the hospital. The city also sent him a bill for the ambulance ride.

After getting the phone call from Curtis, Stu Singer began trying to secure Curtis' release. A police department spokesperson told him they didn't have Curtis, "Try the county jail" instead.

After a futile attempt to locate Curtis at the county jail, Singer called back to city jail. This time they told him someone is being processed in a back room, call back in a little while. This was repeated three times.

"We were sure that they were beating him," Singer recalled. "Throughout this time we were trying to secure a lawyer for



Militant photos by Stu Singer  
Protest against INS raid on Swift plant (left). After attending a March 4 meeting where demonstration was called, Curtis was beaten and framed up by Des Moines cops.

him, trying to get a lawyer to call the jail and find out what's going on. Several attorneys told us, 'Beatings don't go on in Des Moines.'

When Singer and others went to the jail to try to get him out, the cops start laughing. "Do you have \$30,000 in cash on you," they snickered.

At 1:30 a.m. Kate Kaku got home from her packinghouse job and called the jail. They told her Curtis was hurt, "that he's been to the hospital, that he got hurt attacking police officers."

A hearing to read the charges to Curtis was held on the second floor of the city jail at 9:00 the next morning. No one except court officers were allowed in. The cops claimed that since it was a Saturday, they didn't have enough "security" available to hold an open session.

Curtis' supporters scrambled during the night and morning to raise bail and get him out sometime after 2:00 in the afternoon.

In the early morning two days later, bandaged and barely able to stand up, Curtis and Kaku went to the Swift plant to try to get Curtis a medical excuse for missing work.

"Many workers could barely recognize him," said Local 431 member Ellen Whitt. "He told them 'the cops did this to me, I am going to need your help.'"

#### Supporters in Des Moines

Robert and Nellie Berry are members of the Socialist Party of Iowa. They have been active in politics here since the depression of the 1930s. Robert learned about Curtis' case at a protest rally last March against U.S. troops being deployed to Honduras. "First time I saw Mark Curtis," Robert Berry said, "I was convinced that he is a victim of police brutality."

Nellie Berry wasn't at the protest. But when her husband told her about the Curtis case she said, "That sounds like the Des Moines police."

Others active in Curtis' defense committee will also say it was seeing Curtis after the beating that first got them involved in the fight.

Hazel Zimmerman met Curtis at a protest march for the Swift 17 on March 12. "When I saw what he looked like, I went looking for the facts." After getting the facts, Zimmerman said, "Now I'm looking for justice."

One of Curtis' strongest defenders is his neighbor Julia Terrell who says, "I've lived in Des Moines my whole life. I became involved in this because Mark's a friend of mine. He's active politically because he really cares about people," she said.

#### 'Thinking man's police chief'

After 25 years on the Kansas City police force, William Moulder became Des Moines police chief in 1984. An article in the *Des Moines Skywalker* in 1986 described him as "the thinking man's police chief."

"We have high quality people here," Moulder said, "and a very high level of integrity, discipline, professionalism, and self-image."

Moulder supposedly encourages cops to continue their education, "so they won't think the world begins and ends with a blue suit."

He said the police department is improving in the area of sex crimes. "There is an emerging body of knowledge in this area

that needs more development," stated Moulder.

On March 19, 50 people, including a half dozen Swift workers, attended a press conference where Curtis described what happened to him. Messages were read from a number of unionists, students, and political activists condemning the attack.

Since then individuals and organizations from across the United States sent mes-

sages or signed petitions protesting the attempt to railroad Curtis to jail. Messages or petitions have also been received from the Philippines, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Britain, Sweden, Iceland, and Puerto Rico.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee has raised more than \$45,000 for legal expenses and has set a goal of raising another \$25,000.

Curtis has spoken in numerous cities in the United States and Canada about the case.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee has distributed 100,000 leaflets about the case around the country and internationally. In the week before a July 3 defense committee rally, 2,000 leaflets were distributed at plant gates in the Des Moines area.

## Defense committee office attacked

BY BOB MILLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — The Mark Curtis Defense Committee office here was attacked on the evening of July 15.

Curtis is a political activist framed up by the Des Moines police on rape and burglary charges. If convicted, he faces a mandatory 25-year jail term.

Keith Morris broke the three large plate-glass panes in the front of the Pathfinder Bookstore where the office is located. He was trying to attack Curtis.

Morris is the father of Demetria Morris, the 15-year-old Black high school student Curtis is accused of raping.

Curtis' trial is scheduled to begin on September 7. On July 12 a hearing was held where Polk County prosecutor James Smith's office tried to get Curtis' trial moved up to August. The judge refused to change the trial date.

During the hearing, Assistant County Attorney Catherine Thune called Keith and Demetria Morris to the stand. The father testified that he has five grown sons and he "constantly has to talk to them to let the judicial system work."

Smith or Thune have made no comment about this thinly veiled threat of violence against Curtis and his supporters.

The bookstore was closed at the time Morris attacked. He began kicking and pounding on the windows. After climbing in through the broken glass, he smashed the remaining unbroken windows.

Curtis and two of his supporters were in the defense committee office at the time. They left through another exit and called the police from a nearby phone.

Curtis' neighbor had seen Morris pounding on the door of Curtis' home shortly before his attack at the bookstore.

#### Curtis calls for arrest

The cops took Morris, who had apparently cut his legs, to Broadlawns Hospital. So far, they have not filed charges against him.

Curtis told a news conference the next day, "County Attorney James Smith has the responsibility to arrest and file the appropriate charges against Keith Morris for this violent attack." He said that assistant prosecutor Thune had given Morris the "green light" to make threats from the witness stand a few days earlier.

Curtis emphasized that his "case is a political frame-up involving members of the Des Moines police department and probably other police agencies."

He said he became a target of the cops

for speaking out "against the U.S.-run war in Central America, police brutality, and racism, and for being an active union member who defends the rights of immigrant workers."

Messages protesting the attack were read from Bob Crandall, pastor of the Ft. Des Moines United Methodist Church and from the Progress Action Coalition in Ames, Iowa.

The damaged glass was repaired a couple of days later at a cost of \$2,000.

#### New support

Curtis is continuing to win important new support for his fight.

Thomas Gumbleton, auxiliary Catholic bishop of Detroit, sent a protest message to Des Moines police chief William Moulder protesting the arrest of Curtis.

Other protest statements have been received from John George, a member of the Board of Supervisors in Alameda County, California, and co-chair of the Bay Area Free South Africa Movement.

Pamela Valadez, president of the Greensboro, North Carolina, chapter of the National Organization for Women wrote to Moulder. "It is particularly reprehensible to feminists that the Des Moines police would use the charge of attempted rape to try to discredit this young man, himself a spokesperson for women's rights, when legitimate rape charges brought by women are often ignored or

treated with little respect," she said.

Another message was sent by the El Salvador Solidarity Campaign in London.

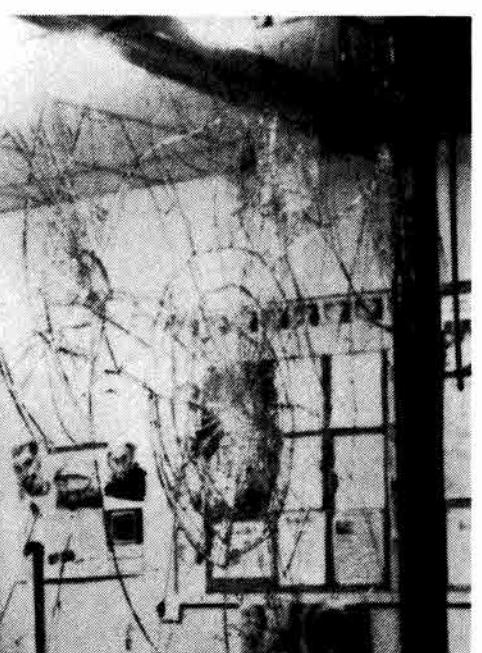
Some 150 members of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-234 in Linwood, Pennsylvania, signed petitions demanding that the charges against Curtis be dropped and that the cops who beat him in custody be arrested. These unionists, who recently ended a six-month strike, also sent \$184 for Curtis' defense.

Other contributions have come from Canadian Auto Workers Local 510 in Montreal; Machinists Local 796 in Alexandria, Virginia; and Service Employees International Union Local 509 in Dorchester, Massachusetts.

On July 13 Curtis spoke by phone to Leonard Peltier who is serving "two life sentences" in Leavenworth, Kansas, after being framed up for the 1975 killing of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

Peltier explained that his appeals have been exhausted but that he is trying to obtain the 6,000 pages of documents the FBI has on him. The FBI says they can't release them because of "national security."

Curtis will be attending the convention of the United Food and Commercial Workers union in San Francisco, which begins July 25. He is a member of UFCW Local 431.



Militant/Sara Lobman  
Plate-glass window of defense committee office was shattered during July 15 attack. Repairs cost \$2,000.

# 'FBI on Trial' tells of victory in socialist

## Introduction to book on 15-year battle of Socialist Workers Party against de

The following is the introduction to *FBI on Trial: The Victory in the Socialist Workers Party Suit Against Government Spying*, to be published by Pathfinder in August. Margaret Jayko, one of the editors of the *Militant*, edited the book and wrote this introduction.

The introduction is Copyright 1988 by Pathfinder; reprinted by permission.

### BY MARGARET JAYKO

This book is about a historic victory for democratic rights. It contains the federal court decision that codifies the accomplishments of the successful 15-year legal battle waged by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against decades of spying, harassment, and disruption by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The ruling in this case places a valuable new weapon in the hands of all working people fighting to defend their rights and living standards and all those struggling for progressive social change. It can and should be used widely to win broader freedoms for everyone.

The SWP and YSA filed the lawsuit July 18, 1973, in federal court in Manhattan. They charged government agencies with "illegal acts of blacklisting, harassment, electronic surveillance, burglary, mail tampering, and terrorism" against the socialist organizations. They demanded a court injunction to halt these illegal activities and that the government be ordered to pay damages.

The trial opened in New York April 2, 1981, and continued for three months. In eight years of pretrial proceedings the plaintiffs had managed to pry hundreds of thousands of pages out of the secret files of the FBI and other government police agencies, substantiating many of the allegations made in the original complaint. Many of these documents were submitted into evidence at the trial.

Five years after the trial, on Aug. 25, 1986, U.S. District Judge Thomas Griesa ruled in favor of the plaintiffs. The judge found the FBI guilty of violations of the constitutional rights of the SWP and YSA and of their members and supporters.

On Aug. 17, 1987, Judge Griesa issued an injunction barring any further government use of the FBI files on the SWP, YSA, and their members and supporters that had been compiled illegally.

### Withdrew appeal

On Jan. 14, 1988, the government served notice that it would appeal Judge Griesa's rulings. Two months later, just days before the deadline for submitting its appeal brief, the Justice Department withdrew its appeal. This ended the court case. An unpre-

cedented victory for constitutional rights had been won.

Judge Griesa's decision, reprinted in this book, represents a victory for the basic right to engage in political activity free from government interference.

The FBI investigation of the SWP started, wrote Griesa, "with a series of directives issued by President Roosevelt to J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI. Roosevelt met with Hoover on Aug. 24, 1936, and this meeting was recorded in a memorandum written by Hoover. According to the memorandum, Roosevelt 'was desirous of discussing the question of the subversive activities in the United States, particularly fascism and communism'....

"In 1941 Director Hoover wrote the New York office of the FBI complaining about the lack of information regarding the SWP and requesting that every effort be made 'to obtain from book shops, informants and other sources' whatever written materials existed about the SWP." Ever since then, the SWP was a target of the FBI.

Judge Griesa found that "the FBI's disruption activities, surreptitious entries and use of informants" were "violations of the constitutional rights of the SWP and lacked legislative or regulatory authority."

The court ruling provides a compelling summary of the government's illegal operations against the SWP and YSA as revealed in the case. Judge Griesa dealt extensively with the FBI's use of informers to spy on and seek to disrupt the SWP and YSA.

### 57 disruption operations

His decision details several of the 57 disruption operations conducted by the FBI. These include poison-pen letters, malicious articles planted in the press, instances of harassment and victimization, covert attempts to get SWP members fired from their jobs, and efforts to disrupt collaboration between the SWP and Black rights and anti-Vietnam War groups.

It enumerates 20,000 days of wiretaps and 12,000 days of listening "bugs" between 1943 and 1963. It documents 208 FBI burglaries of offices and homes of the SWP and its members, resulting in the theft or photographing of 9,864 private documents.

Judge Griesa concluded that these government operations were illegal and a violation of the Bill of Rights. He ruled that appeals to "national security" — by the president or anyone else — cannot be used as an excuse to violate the Constitution. "The FBI exceeded any reasonable definition of its mandate and had no discretion to do so," the judge concluded.

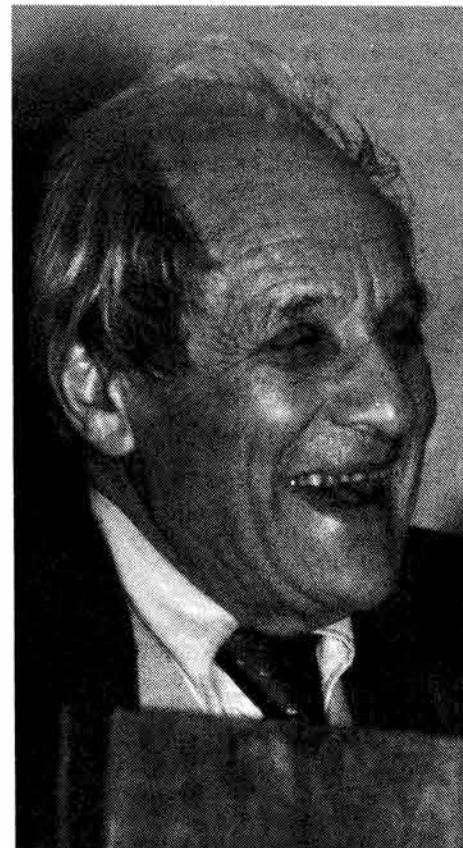
Based on these findings, Judge Griesa

ordered the government to pay the SWP and YSA \$264,000 in damages.

The decision in this case codifies significant advances for political rights. Important new ground has been conquered in extending the right to privacy of political organizations and individual activists. This, more than any other single issue, was at the heart of the case.

For the first time a federal court has ruled that the very presence of government informers in a political organization is a violation of the constitutional rights of free speech and association and the right to privacy. "The FBI's use of informants clearly constituted invasion of privacy," wrote Griesa.

After reviewing the record of more than four decades of FBI spying and disruption, Judge Griesa concluded that "there is no



Militant/Holbrook Mahn  
Noted civil liberties attorney Leonard Boudin headed team of lawyers in socialist suit.

evidence that any FBI informant ever reported an instance of planned or actual espionage, violence, [or] terrorism." Instead, the informers helped the FBI amass "thousands of reports recording peaceful, lawful activity by the SWP and YSA." They also carried out FBI orders to "suppress recruiting activities," to "frustrate the growth of the organizations," and "to attempt to disrupt them."

Without the right to conduct their affairs in private, the decision states, the freedom of association of those whose views are opposed by the government is violated. This decision reinforces and extends important previous victories by the civil rights movement and women's rights struggles in establishing a constitutional right to privacy.

The court decision also recognizes that the government cannot ignore Fourth Amendment protections against arbitrary searches and seizure by justifying measures such as burglaries, "bugs," and wiretaps on grounds of "national security" interests.

The FBI burglaries were "obvious violations of the Fourth Amendment," wrote Judge Griesa. "The FBI knew this full well. There was no statutory or regulatory authorization for such operations."

The decision also marks the first time a federal court has ruled on the constitutional issues posed by covert government disruption operations aimed at fomenting internal divisions and making it more difficult for a political organization to collaborate with others and win new members.

### Exposed Cointelpro

The SWP and YSA lawsuit was one of several filed in the 1970s that helped ex-

pose the FBI's Cointelpro (an acronym for Counterintelligence program).

Former FBI head J. Edgar Hoover had outlined the goals of the Cointelpro operation directed against the "new left" in a secret memo written in 1968. "The purpose of this program is to expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership and adherents," wrote Hoover. "We must frustrate every effort of these groups and individuals to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or faithful adherents."

Black rights organizations and the Communist Party were the primary targets of Cointelpro. But the SWP, YSA, and many other organizations were also subjected to these FBI disruption operations. (A vivid description of how Cointelpro worked is contained in the Pathfinder book *COINTELPRO: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom* by Nelson Blackstock, with an introduction by Noam Chomsky. It includes reproductions of dozens of documents.)

At the trial, the SWP and YSA submitted extensive evidence of Cointelpro operations. The trial record, in fact, constitutes the most complete account ever assembled of the goals, techniques, and effects of Cointelpro.

Passing judgment on Cointelpro, Judge Griesa ruled, "There can be no doubt that these disruption operations were patently unconstitutional and violated the SWP's First Amendment rights of free speech and assembly. Moreover, there was no statutory or regulatory authority for the FBI to disrupt the SWP's lawful political activities."

Government lawyers argued throughout the course of the suit that the FBI operations were legally justified because of the SWP's Marxist views and communist activities. This was rejected by the court.

The ruling makes clear that protection of the right to be free from unconstitutional government activities applies to communist organizations such as the SWP and YSA, as well as to noncommunist groups.

The program and activities of the SWP since its founding in 1938 were very much at the heart of this fight. The SWP called many witnesses to the stand during the trial to testify about the party's views, organization, and actions. In addition, dozens of government witnesses, ranging from a former U.S. attorney general and other top Department of Justice officials to FBI street agents, explained the FBI's goals and methods in combating "subversion."

The first two witnesses were Farrell Dobbs, SWP national secretary from 1953 to 1972, and Jack Barnes, who became national secretary after Dobbs.

### Dobbs traced history

On the witness stand, Dobbs traced the history of the SWP, described some of the party's fundamental political concepts, and discussed the 1941 conviction of 18 leaders of the party and the Teamsters union in Minneapolis — including himself. They were imprisoned under provisions of the thought-control Smith Act, which makes advocacy of communist ideas illegal. Dobbs testified that the views the SWP advocates today are the same as the ones he and others were imprisoned for during World War II. Dobbs' testimony is cited extensively by Griesa in his decision. Excerpts from this testimony are included in this volume.

One of the issues that emerged at the trial was whether the SWP favors a totalitarian society, a lie pressed by the government as justification for its violations of the Bill of Rights. SWP leader Jack Barnes was recalled to the witness stand at the end of the trial to rebut several government witnesses who testified along these lines. Brief excerpts from that testimony are also included here.

Many of the accusations against the SWP centered on the party's collaboration with revolutionaries in other countries. The

## Full rights for Héctor Marroquín! What you can do to help:



- Send a letter or telegram to Alan Nelson, Immigration and Naturalization Service commissioner, Washington, D.C. 20536, urging that Marroquín be granted a waiver so that a just conclusion can be won in his fight for permanent residence.
- Add your name to thousands and become an endorser of the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee.
- Make a financial contribution to the defense committee to aid the fight to end U.S. government efforts to deport Marroquín because of his political views and membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee  
Box 761 Church Street Station, New York, New York 10007. Telephone (212) 691-3270.

# ist suit

## ides of FBI spying

FBI claimed that it had to "investigate" the SWP because the party was suspected of violating the Voorhis Act, which restricts the right of U.S. groups to maintain political collaboration with revolutionary organizations abroad.

Griesa rejected this rationale. His decision offers greater constitutional protection for the SWP and all those who work with revolutionaries, union militants, and political activists in other countries. At the trial, SWP leaders testified about the broad scope of the party's collaboration with revolutionaries throughout the world. In the decision Griesa notes that the government was fully aware of this collaboration "and ... taken no steps to enforce the Voorhis Act against the SWP."

Another precedent-setting aspect of the court ruling is the award of substantial monetary damages to the plaintiffs for the FBI's illegal and unconstitutional actions. This assertion of the right of a communist organization to financial compensation for its crimes marks an advance for political liberties.

### Injunction

In his August 1986 opinion Judge Griesa declared that he would issue an injunction against government use of secret files that were "obtained illegally or developed from ... lawfully obtained information." But, he said, further proceedings were required to determine the nature and scope of this injunction. This pointed to the next phase of the battle.

The fight over the terms of the injunction lasted another year. The Justice Department, in court papers, warned Judge Griesa not to issue any injunction, saying it would put "the Nation's vital interest of self-preservation at risk."

The Justice Department's legal brief, reprinted here, relies heavily on a 1951 Supreme Court ruling affirming the 1949 conviction of Eugene Dennis and other leaders of the Communist Party. The CP leaders had been found guilty of violating the Smith Act, just as the SWP leaders had been in 1941. Citing the *Dennis* ruling, Attorney General Edwin Meese's lawyers asserted: "The Supreme Court has noted that self-preservation is 'the ultimate value of any society.'" The need to protect this "ultimate value," the Justice Department argued, overrides constitutional protections of the rights of groups and individuals.

The brief was backed up by affidavits from government spy agencies arguing that any restrictions on their continued use of the ill-gotten files on the SWP and YSA would cripple their functioning. These affidavits are also included in this collection.

The Justice Department's brief argues that the FBI's inability to come up with any evidence of lawbreaking by the SWP despite decades of spying, "did not of itself make the investigation or the techniques used in it illegal — the FBI was and is authorized to conduct such investigations." Moreover, "it was — and is — reasonable for the FBI and other agencies of the Government to believe that the SWP and its members have a revolutionary ideology whose goal is the violent overthrow of our democratic processes and form of government." Therefore, it argues, it is essential that the files on the SWP and YSA remain active, regardless of the fact that much of the information in them was obtained illegally.

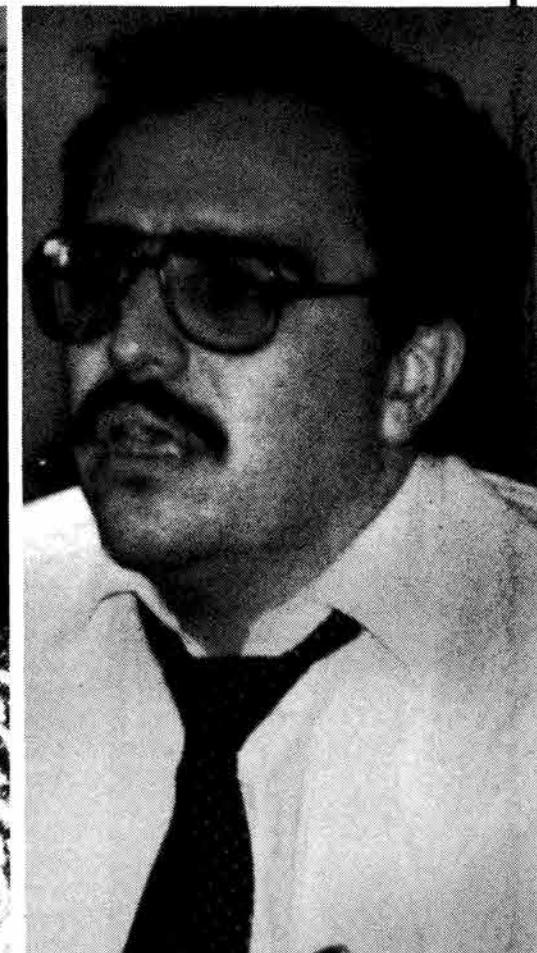
The government's legal brief puts special emphasis on an area that directly affects millions of working people. It says the files are needed to carry out the government's political screening of unionists in plants where production under government military contracts takes place. These inspections, under the guise of ruling on security clearances, are used by the employers and the cops to intimidate union militants, housebreak the unions themselves, and even fire workers who refuse to accept the bosses' orders regarding what they can read or say, and who they can associate with.



Militant/Holbrook Mahn



Militant/Arthur Hughes



Militant/Selva Nebbia

**Fred Dube (left) of African National Congress of South Africa; Angela Sanbrano, national coordinator of Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES); and Rafael Anglada López, one of the attorneys for the Hartford 15 Puerto**

Rican defendants. They are among many who celebrated success in socialists' suit against FBI. It's "a real victory," said Sanbrano, "because it deals a blow to illegal spying on political activists."

The Justice Department brief also insists that the files on the SWP and YSA are critical to "the Government's interest in preventing espionage and sabotage in the Nation's defense plants." But the FBI has never offered a hint of evidence that any member of supporter of the socialists was involved in spying or sabotage.

The Justice Department's goal was to weaken Griesa's decision or lay the groundwork to have it overturned entirely by a higher court.

### Government's threats failed

But the government's threats failed. In August 1987 Griesa issued a broad injunction.

The court rejected the Justice Department arguments against restrictions on the use of the files: "The Government contends that there should be no injunctive relief because there is no threat of future unconstitutional use of the illegally obtained information — such as use in a disruption program. But this ignores the fact that any use or dissemination of this material would be tainted with illegality because the information is not lawfully in the hands of the Government. The Government can hardly deny the possibility of usage when it has presented affidavits ... urging that they need to have access to the information in these documents for various purposes." (Emphasis in the original.)

The injunction bars the use of any information obtained by FBI informers or from FBI burglaries of SWP or YSA offices or members' homes, as well as use of any files developed from this illegally seized information.

The injunction specifies that the identities of members and supporters of the SWP and YSA in the FBI files must be presumed to have been illegally obtained, since information on individual membership is not public. Thus the right to privacy of every member and supporter of the SWP and YSA is covered by the injunction.

The Justice Department had argued that if an injunction was issued, federal police agencies must have the right to use information in the sealed files in self-proclaimed "emergency" situations, either by obtaining an exemption from any federal judge anywhere in the country, or, in cases of extreme urgency, by simply using the information and notifying some court later.

Flatly rejecting this demand, Griesa ruled that on the "very rare" occasion that any government agency should ever want access to any information covered by the injunction, it must apply to him and inform the SWP and YSA that it is doing so to afford them the opportunity to respond.

The court also rebutted the attempt of the Secret Service to use the specter of potential violence against public officials to justify continued use of the files. "As far as

the evidence now shows," wrote Griesa, "the materials involved contain little or no information bearing on national security, and no information about actual or planned violence against public officials, but rather a mass of information about peaceful political activities and the private lives of individuals." The Secret Service, "like the other agencies, should be bound to perform their tasks on the basis of *lawfully* obtained information." (Emphasis in the original.)

One of the most important aspects of both the 1986 ruling and the 1987 injunction is that neither makes a distinction between members and supporters of the SWP and YSA who are citizens and those who were born in other countries, regardless of their immigration status in the United States. Both immigrants and nonimmigrants, therefore, are included in the protections outlined by the court.

### List of 'proscribed' groups

During the trial, the Immigration and Naturalization Service — one of the defendants — had announced that it was considering putting the SWP and YSA once again on its special list of proscribed groups. The party had been "proscribed" in the past, but the listing was dropped in 1966. The government can deport foreign-born members and supporters of groups on the proscribed list.

In his decision, Judge Griesa reports that "the court is advised that to the present date

no change has been made in the SWP's non-proscribed status, and that the matter is no longer being considered. . . . There is no indication of any present or contemplated adverse action by the INS against any SWP member."

"As to the SWP proscription," the decision continues, "it was removed by the INS in 1966, seven years before the commencement of this lawsuit. For some reason the INS decided during the time the trial was taking place to engage in a reconsideration of the matter. However, no action has been taken, and the SWP has not been restored to the list of proscribed organizations. The court has no reason to believe that the INS is furtively waiting for the decision in this case before announcing a restoration of the SWP's proscription."

This victory for immigrants' rights was taken a step further in the injunction. In its affidavit opposing restrictions on use of the FBI's illegally obtained files, the INS argued, "The inability to receive information from the FBI regarding membership in the Socialist Workers Party during the proposed time period could adversely affect the ability of INS to make informed decisions about an individual's political views. Although membership in the Socialist Workers Party would not alone result in any change to one's immigration status, it is certainly a factor that would need to be examined in accordance with our statutory

**Continued on next page**



## SPECIAL OFFER!

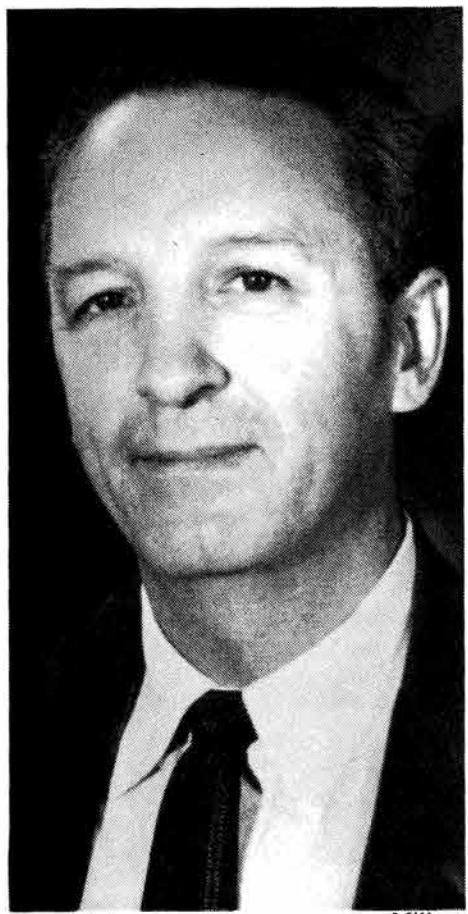
**FBI on Trial: The Victory in the Socialist Workers Party Suit Against Government Spying**  
Editor: Margaret Jayko  
\$8.95 list price.

**Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom**  
by Nelson Blackstock  
\$7.95 list price.

Order now! Special offer ends August 15.  
Send \$13.50 for both books, plus 75¢ postage and handling to Pathfinder,  
410 West St., N.Y., N.Y. 10014.

**20% OFF IF YOU BUY BOTH!**

# 'FBI on Trial': victory in socialist suit



Militant  
**Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party national secretary from 1953 to 1972, testified about party's history and fundamental political views.**

## Continued from previous page

mandate. Failure to have the information could impact on our ability to properly determine an individual's proper immigration status."

By denying the government use of any membership information, the injunction provides substantial legal protection from political discrimination against noncitizens based on affiliation or support to the SWP or YSA.

## Decisive in Marroquín case

The outcome of the SWP and YSA case was decisive in winning victories in the struggle of Mexican-born SWP National Committee member Héctor Marroquín for permanent residency in the United States. Marroquín has been fighting for permanent residence status for 11 years.

Less than one month after the government withdrew its appeal in the case, Marroquín won a temporary residence card

under the government's immigrant amnesty program. Right after that, Marroquín was also finally given a date for a long-delayed hearing on his application for permanent residence based on his marriage to a U.S. citizen. At that hearing, the State Department was forced to concede that there is no political barrier to Marroquín winning a visa.

Extending the Bill of Rights to encompass immigrant workers and communists is an ongoing — and interconnected — battle. The government has often gotten away with treating communists as though they have fewer rights than other people on the grounds that they are an alleged threat to "national security." They are presumed guilty simply because of their ideas. Non-citizens in the United States are also treated as though the Constitution does not apply to them. The two questions have historically been intertwined and are so today, because many immigrant workers become active in the Marxist movement in the United States.

As this introduction is being written, there still remains one unfinished matter in the case of *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General* — to make the government pay the hundreds of thousands of dollars in attorneys' fees it cost to win the case. The government has at times in the past brought harsh and vindictive sanctions against lawyers who defend communists in court. Forcing the government to pay attorneys' fees in the SWP case would show that fees can be won for attorneys who represent communists and others whose views the government opposes, often donating all or part of their time and energy.

The SWP and YSA case made a political impact because it wasn't limited to a battle in a courtroom — terrain that's not very favorable for working-class organizations. Public exposure of FBI crimes and cover-ups of those crimes and mobilization of a broad united effort in defense of constitutional rights were key to making progress on the legal front in this battle with the FBI. This was a *political* fight with a legal component.

From the day this lawsuit was filed, the SWP and YSA sought to collaborate in this undertaking with all organizations and individuals with a stake in the fight to defend and extend democratic rights. The vehicle for this united-front effort was the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), a nonpartisan organization formed in 1973 to gather the backing and funds to make this lawsuit possible.

PRDF held broad public meetings across

the country at every crucial juncture in the case to explain what was going on and to seek support. It organized to get the maximum press coverage for the legal fight and to disseminate as widely as possible the lessons to be learned from the secret files forced to light through the suit. Publishing literature on the case was another big aspect of what PRDF did.

## Sponsor list grew

PRDF's sponsor list grew to include thousands of prominent individuals, victims of police repression, and fighters for democratic rights. These included six members of Congress; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other Black rights organizations; the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and other unions; past victims of government repression; leaders of antiwar organizations and women's rights groups; and members of the Communist Party, Democratic Socialists of America, and other political parties. With the successful outcome of the case, the Political Rights Defense Fund was dissolved.

Thanks should go to all those who have served as PRDF officers and on the board of PRDF over the years, as well as to the many individuals who volunteered their time and talent.

The National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the Bill of Rights Foundation also lent this case continued support and share credit for what has been achieved.

And special appreciation is due Leonard B. Boudin and the team of attorneys he guided, who had the imagination to see from the early days the potential of this case and the dedication to make the victory possible.

Included as an appendix to this volume is PRDF's final financial statement and a financial summary of PRDF's activities by John Studer, the fund's executive director. In explaining how PRDF raised the more than \$1 million it cost to fight this battle, and how that money was spent, it provides a synopsis of what PRDF did.

Also included as an appendix is an article by Larry Seigle, "Workers' Rights versus the Secret Police," which summarizes the political context for the filing of the suit and the battle with the government leading up to the trial. It is based on a talk at a socialist education conference in August 1980. Seigle was responsible for coordinating the party's work around this case. An article by him discussing why Washington organized this massive assault on the SWP and why the party was able to wage a successful fight against it, entitled "Washington's Fifty-Year Domestic Contra Operation," appears in issue number six of the magazine *New International*. To get a copy, send \$6.50 to Pathfinder. Seigle's article also appears in Spanish in the pamphlet *50 años de guerra encubierta: El FBI contra los derechos democráticos*, available for \$2 from Pathfinder.

\* \* \*

Shortly after Griesa's injunction was issued in 1987, the FBI's covert spying operation against the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) was uncovered.

## Operation against CISPES

As a result of efforts by CISPES and the Center for Constitutional Rights, the FBI was forced to admit that it collected 3,700 pages of files on hundreds of individuals and 150 organizations solely on the basis of their political views and activities. The FBI used informers and undercover agents to identify those who attended CISPES-initiated activities, opening files on each of them and any organization they represented. This operation, which the FBI admits it conducted between 1981 and at least 1985, was carried out under classified "Foreign Intelligence/Terrorism" guidelines adopted by the Reagan administration in 1981. The FBI relied on these secret guidelines for authority to target CISPES and then expanded the operation to go after other opponents of the U.S. war drive in Central America, including unions and church and political organizations, such as the SWP and YSA.

A special effort was made to spy on unionists who are active in opposition to

U.S. policy in Central America. Among the unions selected for surveillance were the United Auto Workers, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, United Steelworkers, and the Longshoremen and Warehousemen on the West Coast.

The CISPES revelations sparked a rapid and broad outcry. The use of informers against antiwar activists was immediately seen by millions of people as a violation of the right to freedom of speech and association.

Commenting on the speed of the reaction to news of spying on CISPES, SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes told reporters at a March 17, 1988, press conference announcing the final victory in the SWP case, "I think that people in this country view the FBI and political rights differently than they did 15 years ago when our case was filed.

"We helped show millions of people in this country that the FBI engaged in a criminal domestic contra operation and is capable of doing so again," said Barnes.

Coming when they did, the CISPES revelations and the sharp public reaction to them may also have helped tip the balance in a divided Justice Department and White House over whether or not to appeal the court ruling in the SWP case.

"Today's Contragate indictments, the revelations of FBI crimes against CISPES, evidence of illegal activity on the part of Attorney General Edwin Meese, growing and well-deserved skepticism generally regarding the FBI, all have helped create a context in which the government decided it could ill afford another public fight over its unconstitutional operation against the SWP," commented Barnes.

The SWP leader went on to explain what was gained through this lawsuit: "We said 15 years ago when we launched the case that the FBI's purpose was to discourage political activity, to lessen the space for it, to narrow the de facto use of the Bill of Rights, to shrink the confidence of working people and anyone who wants to use their democratic rights, in order to prepare for the war and repression they felt was necessary.

"At a minimum we can say that our victory helps encourage people to engage in political activity, increases the space for politics, expands the de facto use of the Bill of Rights, increases the confidence of working people that you can be political and hold the deepest convictions against the government and it's your right to do so and act upon them, and weakens their ability to prepare secretly for war and repression."

The purpose of this book is to spread the word about this victory as widely as possible so that it can be used by all fighters for social change. That's what will give the victory meaning and strength.

At a rally in New York to celebrate the victorious outcome of the case, several of today's victims of government repression embraced this victory as their own. "This historic ruling is a victory for all of us," said Angela Sanbrano, national executive director of CISPES. The decision in the SWP case, she said, makes it more possible to fight secret-police operations like the one conducted against CISPES.

She introduced Mark Curtis, a CISPES activist and young meat-packer from Des Moines, Iowa, who was badly beaten by cops and is facing a long prison sentence on frame-up charges of rape and burglary because of his political views and activities. Yvonne Meléndez, one of 15 Puerto Rican independence activists indicted on trumped-up charges of robbery, also spoke. These and other victims of government frame-ups and cop attacks can use this victory in their own fights.

The stock market crash of October 1987 announced to the world that a deepgoing international economic and social crisis is on the agenda. The employers, together with the government, will use new, rougher methods against workers and farmers who will fight to protect themselves from the effects of the crisis. There will be more police frame-ups and FBI spying and disruption operations. The victory in the case of *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General* will become even more important. Working people will go into these battles in a little better shape because everyone's rights have been expanded.

July 1988

## Subscribe to 'Perspectiva Mundial' Action Program to meet economic crisis

As a reader of the *Militant* you are familiar with our weekly coverage of the struggles of working people around the world.

If you can read or are studying Spanish, there is a complementary monthly magazine for you: *Perspectiva Mundial*. *PM* is a Spanish-language socialist magazine that carries many of the same articles you read in the *Militant*.

The July/August issue of *PM* features an "Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis." This document, adopted by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee, takes up the political consequences for working people of the October 1987 stock market crash.

Also featured is an interview with Rafael "Fafa" Taveras, president of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America and general secretary of the Socialist Bloc of the Dominican Republic.



Subscriptions: Introductory offer, \$3 for six months. \$9 for one year.

Begin my sub with current issue.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Clip and mail to PM, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

# Matagalpa farm workers urge Nicaragua gov't to halt growers' sabotage

BY JUDY WHITE

MATAGALPA, Nicaragua — "What we worry about are those individuals who have some property here in Nicaragua and who have been sucking the juice out of our lands for more than four years now," said the president of the Association of Rural Workers (ATC) local at several privately owned coffee farms near here.

The union leader took advantage of Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega's visit to Matagalpa in urging that the Sandinista government take action against such growers. Speaking on behalf of the workers he represents, he asked Ortega to make use of the laws permitting the confiscation of lands that are abandoned or underutilized.

The setting was a July 7 "Face the People" assembly attended by several hundred local union leaders and activists, mainly workers from different coffee farms in northern Nicaragua.

Ortega and several other top government and union officials had come to Matagalpa to discuss with these workers economic policies recently adopted by the government.

Discussion from the floor was wide-ranging, with the biggest audience response going to workers from privately owned enterprises who demanded government action in the face of what they characterized as growers' sabotage of the economy.

An ATC leader at the Yerbabuena rice plantation reported that 2.9 tons of rice is produced on each acre of that plantation's land. But the owner tells the government marketing agency that only 1.2 tons are produced so he can later sell the other 1.7 tons at a higher price.

## 'Pass the bourgeoisie a note'

This farm worker asked Ortega to "pass the bourgeoisie at Yerbabuena a note telling them that the workers have the technical capacity to run the farm." His coworkers, he said, are not willing to continue putting up with this situation, which undermines the revolution's goal of providing basic foods, such as rice, at affordable prices.

The production secretary of the ATC at two private coffee farms reported that the bosses refuse to supply adequate tools. They also send workers to cultivate coffee bushes that have been neglected, she said.

## Gov't set back in Hartford 15 case

BY TIM CRAINE

HARTFORD, Conn — The U.S. government has suffered a major setback in its attempts to convict 15 Puerto Rican independence activists known as the Hartford 15. On July 8 Judge Emmet Clarie ruled that two sets of wiretap tape recordings made by the FBI may not be used as evidence in court because the federal prosecutors failed to have the tapes sealed in a timely manner.

The Hartford 15 are accused of conspiracy in a 1983 robbery of a Wells Fargo depot in West Hartford, Connecticut. The prosecution has repeatedly described them as "terrorists."

A key element in the prosecution's case has been more than 1,000 FBI tapes recording conversations made by the defendants over a 17-month period prior to the arrest of the 15 in 1985. The FBI planted listening devices in the defendants' homes and cars and in public phone booths frequently used by them. This activity included the monitoring of bedroom conversations between couples.

Puerto Rico's constitution bans electronic surveillance outright. And under U.S. law, once tape recordings have been made, they must be sealed within three days. In the case of most of the tapes gathered for this case, this was not done. By not sealing the tapes, the defendants state, the FBI had the opportunity to tamper with them. It is very difficult, if not impossible, however, to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that tampering has taken place.

until "they are surrounded by weeds six feet high." She reported that the owner of one farm had dismantled a child-care center the workers had organized and that workers were sent out to the fields without breakfast. "These people are playing with the dignity of the revolution," this ATC leader concluded.

Workers on state farms also complained of bureaucratic privileges for administrators, a lack of tools, and insufficient stocks in the commissaries, where basic goods at a reasonable price are supposed to be available. One ATC leader said at times the directors at state enterprises act like bosses.

A worker from a state-owned cigar factory reported that workers there are receiving a free supply of basic foods and 50 percent of their wages. "We aren't getting any incentive pay right now," she said, "because we are just barely maintaining everybody's jobs."

Quality fell off, she said, when the men at the enterprise had to be mobilized to defend the tobacco crop from contra sabotage, leaving only women and children to produce the cigars. "We had a discussion last weekend on how to improve our quality," she reported, "and we have a goal of raising it by 70 percent so we can regain our export market."

## Administrators and workers

Following a lively discussion of more than four hours, President Ortega made some closing remarks. It is necessary, he said, to make a distinction between the directors of the state companies and those of private ones. "If the union views the director of a state farm as a boss, it is mistaken. He is a comrade, just one more worker with the responsibility for administering the enterprise." Problems should be resolved in that framework, the president insisted.

Ortega said such problems are different from those created by some private growers "who in effect have an attitude that is politically counterrevolutionary. They take advantage of the fact that a mixed economy exists in this country to do what they feel like doing. There are people who are outside Nicaragua and who have their farms semiabandoned." He continued, "We can-

not allow the existence of abandoned farms because they are property of the nation and the people."

Owners of businesses who "sabotage the decisions of the revolutionary government that benefit the workers," Ortega continued, "don't have the right to a place here in the mixed economy."

The government "must make use of the laws the revolution has passed" to deal with these problems, Ortega said.



Militant/Roberto Kopec

Assembly of women members of Association of Rural Workers in 1987

not allow the existence of abandoned farms because they are property of the nation and the people."

Owners of businesses who "sabotage the decisions of the revolutionary government that benefit the workers," Ortega continued, "don't have the right to a place here in the mixed economy."

"They are the class enemy of the workers. They are just waiting for the Yankees to invade, for the counterrevolution to advance, so that they can become once again the owners of Nicaragua."

The government "must make use of the laws the revolution has passed" to deal with these problems, Ortega said.

## —WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

### Moscow rejects Armenian demands

An emergency session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the executive committee of the national legislature in the Soviet Union, announced its rejection of a demand by Armenians in the Nagorno-Karabakh region of the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan.

Armenians, who predominate in the region, are demanding its reintegration into the neighboring Armenian republic. Azerbaijan and Armenia are two of 15 republics that make up the Soviet Union.

The area was made part of the Azerbaijani republic in November 1923 by the Soviet government.

Protests and strikes by Armenians in both republics reached massive proportions in February but were suspended following a meeting of protest leaders with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Gorbachev promised to look into their grievances concerning lack of Armenian-language schools, books, and television in Nagorno-Karabakh. The Soviet leader also unveiled a \$664 million economic development program for the region.

When the protests and strikes resumed in March, Soviet police and military were deployed to "restore order."

Protests and strikes began again in the beginning of this month in the Armenian republic. On July 5 protesters closed the airport in Yerevan, the capital, along with many factories. The Soviet government newspaper *Izvestia* reported, "... a considerable part, if not the majority, of industrial and construction enterprises and transport are still not working" as of July 7. "There is practically no one on the streets," reported the Armenian news agency, Armenpress. One week later the legislature in Nagorno-Karabakh voted to secede from the Azerbaijani republic.

### Philippines protests score U.S. bases

Some 5,000 protesters demanding an end to U.S. military bases in the Philippines battled police outside the U.S. embassy in Manila July 4. Another 3,000 protesters rallied outside the gates of the U.S. Clark Air Base. The four-hour demonstration there ended peacefully. The protesters at both actions demanded closure of Clark, Subic Bay Naval Station, and four smaller U.S. bases in the country.

On June 6 the Philippines Senate approved a bill that could effect the presence of the U.S. bases. The bill prohibits the presence of nuclear weapons and restricts nuclear-powered ships from entering the country's ports. The U.S. government maintains a strict policy of refusal to confirm or deny the presence of nuclear weapons on its ships, aircraft, or bases.

Following a 45-minute meeting July 12, Philippines President Corazon Aquino and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz expressed their confidence that an interim agreement for the two U.S. military bases in the country could be reached by the end of the month. The agreement for Clark and Subic Bay expires in 1991.

### Seoul proposes broader ties with North Korea

In the wake of massive student marches for unification of Korea, the government of South Korea announced July 7 that it would allow trade, family visits, and student exchanges with the North. South Korean President Roh Tae Woo said that his government would encourage other countries, including the United States, to improve relations with the North Korean regime in Pyongyang.

In an eight-minute nationally broadcast speech, Roh also said that Seoul seeks to improve relations with China and the Soviet Union.

Thousands of students in South Korea attempted to march to the North to meet with students there but were blocked by armed police on June 10. The students plan to attempt the march again on August 15.

Pyongyang has rejected Roh's proposals, saying they would "freeze the division internally and legalize the two Koreas." Pyongyng has called for political and military talks to include representatives of both the government and opposition parties, an offer Roh did not extend in his speech. Pyongyng also considers the stationing of 40,000 U.S. troops in the South and joint U.S.-South Korean military exercises as a provocation and bar to reunification.

Following the end of World War II, U.S. troops occupied southern Korea and Soviet troops for a time moved into the North. Washington and Moscow agreed that Korea should be divided into two countries. In 1950 the division led to a civil war in which Washington intervened. U.S. forces were fought to a standstill by North Korean and Chinese troops.

# —THE GREAT SOCIETY—

Win a few, lose a few — Rejecting the Food and Drug Administration's position that the risk to humans was "minimal," a federal



Harry  
Ring

court ordered the cosmetic and drug industries to stop using four dyes that cause cancer. Meanwhile, the FDA prepared to approve use of three other dyes that tests indicate, also cause cancer.

**Besides it's unscientific, right?** — A right-wing religious outfit gathered 25,000 petitions demanding that Reagan "say no to astrology in the White House." A spokesman warned that failure to publicly reject astrology would set the nation "on a collision course with God."

**Appointed on wrong day?** — Because of an ensuing flap, county commissioners in LeGrande, Oregon, will probably scrap their decision to appoint an astrologer to guide them on such matters as when to apply for federal grants. The commissioners had reasoned that since the White House used astrology, they might as well try it too.

**Nothing's perfect** — Evacuation plans are being mapped for towns near the Pilgrim nuke plant in Massachusetts, in case it's restarted and/or springs a leak. An official said contracts have been signed with 40 bus companies and the drivers trained in evacuation techniques, but he couldn't guarantee they would show up.

**Progress report** — We reported that the British Ministry of Agriculture had insisted there was no health risk in eating meat from cattle infected with a fatal brain disease. But apparently the ministry then calculated that, for them, there was a political risk. The contaminated beef was ordered with-

drawn from butcher shops and supermarkets.

**Another Big Apple triumph** — Captured in New York, a two-inch cockroach won first prize at the annual Great American Roach-Off. The building super who snagged the winner was awarded \$1,000 and a lifetime supply of Combat, compliments of the roach control company, a sponsor.

**Nontestimonial** — According to our sources, the building where that king-size roach hung out used nothing but Combat.

**Try aspirin** — Research by a

New York ad agency raises questions about the effectiveness of ads that feature physicians endorsing products. Consumers "are no longer accepting at face value what their doctors are saying," reports the agency's director of strategic planning and market research.

**Thought for the week** — "When I was in the military they gave me a medal for killing two men and a discharge for loving one." — Tombstone inscription of late Leonard Matlovich, the Vietnam-era GI whose air force discharge for homosexuality became a rallying focus for the gay rights fight.

## —CALENDAR—

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**Behind the Killing of 290 on Iranian Airliner: Why U.S. Should Get Out of Persian Gulf.** Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 23, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

**How We Can Best Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution Today.** Speakers: Seth Galinsky, Socialist Workers Party; Ramon Diaz, Nicaraguan Cultural Center. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 30, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

#### San Francisco

**Nicaragua After the Contra War.** Speaker: Malik Miah, National Committee Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sun., July 24, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

**Tribute to the Cuban People in Celebration of July 26.** Cultural program and dance with Conjunto Cespedes, Yukani Mawethu, and others. Sun., July 31, noon - 5 p.m. Capp Street Center, 362 Capp St. Donation: \$10. Sponsor: Venceremos Brigade.

#### FLORIDA

#### Miami

**Eyewitness Reports by Participants in the Veterans Peace Convoy to Nicaragua.** Sun., July 24, 7 p.m. Coral Gables Congregational Church, 3010 DeSoto Blvd. Sponsors: Vets for Peace. For more information call (305) 666-5234.

#### ILLINOIS

#### Chicago

**Celebrate Nine Years of the Nicaraguan Revolution — The Current Stage of the Nicaraguan Revolution.** Speakers: Don Davis, Socialist Workers Party; Ray Parrish, Vietnam Veterans Against the War; Sister JoEllen McCarthy, Quest for Peace. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 23, 6 p.m. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 363-7322 or 363-7136.

**The Cuban Revolution Today.** Speakers: Omari Musa, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, recently returned from Cuba; Debra Evenson, professor, DePaul University Law School, national president of National Lawyers Guild. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 30, 6 p.m. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 363-7322 or 363-7136.

### IOWA

#### Des Moines

**Demand Massive U.S. Aid to Nicaragua.** Speaker: Sara Lobman, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 23, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

**Farmers, the Drought, and the Deepening Economic Crisis.** Speaker: Pat Smith, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Local 1513. Sat., July 30, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

### MARYLAND

#### Baltimore

**Celebration of the Cuban Revolution.** Sat., July 23. Two classes: "Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution," 1 p.m.; and "Cuba Today: An Eyewitness Report," 3:30 p.m. Speaker: Omari Musa, National Committee Socialist Workers Party, SWP candidate for mayor of Chicago, recently visited Cuba. Cuban-style dinner at 6 p.m. Forum: "Solidarity With the Cuban Revolution." Speakers: Omari Musa; Leslie Salgado, Howard County Friends of Central America; George Lach, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2203 Executive Board; representative of Baltimore Central America Solidarity Committee. 7:30 p.m. All events at 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2 for each class and forum. Dinner \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**Learning About Socialism.** A class series held on Saturdays at 12:30 p.m. Class 2, "The Fight for Black Liberation," July 23. Class 3, "The Palestinian Struggle Today," July 30. Classes translated to Spanish and held at 5019½ Woodward Ave. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

### MINNESOTA

#### St. Paul

**The Drug Trade: Who Profits and How to End It.** Speakers: Chris Nisan, Marketplace Forum; Eric Mahmoud, Black People Against Drugs; Mark Burrows, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers. Sat., July 30, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

**ILLINOIS: Chicago:** SWP, YSA, 6826 S. Stony Island Ave. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 363-7322.

**INDIANA: Muncie:** YSA, c/o Brian Johnson, 619½ N. Dill St. Zip: 47303. Tel: (317) 747-8543.

**IOWA: Des Moines:** SWP, YSA, 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-1695.

**LOUISIANA: New Orleans:** YSA, P.O. Box 53224. Zip: 70153. Tel: (504) 484-6418.

**MARYLAND: Baltimore:** SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst:** YSA, c/o David Warshawsky, P.O. Box 1383, Hampshire College. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 549-4843.

**Boston:** SWP, YSA, 605 Massachusetts Ave. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

**MICHIGAN: Detroit:** SWP, YSA, 5019½ Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

**MINNESOTA: Austin:** SWP, YSA, 407½ N. Main Zip: 55912. Tel: (507) 433-3461.

**Twin Cities:** SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**MISSOURI: Kansas City:** SWP, YSA, 4725 Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0224.

### MISSOURI

#### Kansas City

**An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis.** Two classes by a representative of the Missouri 1988 Socialist Workers Campaign. Sat., July 30, 1 p.m. and 3 p.m. 4725 Troost. Donation: \$2. For more information call (816) 753-0224.

### NEBRASKA

#### Omaha

**Art and Revolution: The Pathfinder Mural Project.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., July 30, 7:30 p.m. 140 S. 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**Grand Celebration Party Honoring Ninth Anniversary of Nicaraguan Revolution.** Featuring "Son Primero" live with Charlie Santiago; with Nicaraguan DJ. Sat., July 23, 9 p.m. to 3 a.m. Local 1199, 310 W 43rd St. (between 8th and 9th avenues). Donation: \$10. Sponsor: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 769-4293.

**Public Art and the Mural Movement.** Speaker: Eva Cockcroft, painter and author, director of Artmakers. Fri., July 29, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Pathfinder Books. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

**Concert in Support of the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15.** Sandra Roldán. Special guests, Yvonne Meléndez and Elías Castro, Puerto Rico/Hartford 15 defendants. Sat., Aug. 6, 8 p.m. to 2 a.m. Tin Pan Alley, 220 W. 49th St. Donation: \$10. Sponsor: Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression. For more information call (718) 927-9065, (212) 795-0379.

### NORTH CAROLINA

#### Greensboro

**An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis.** "The Employer-Government Offensive: A Strategy for Action by the Labor Movement." Sun., July 24, 7 p.m. "Blacks and Women: How to Unite All Working People Against Race and Sex Discrimination." Sun., July 31, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

### WASHINGTON

#### Seattle

**Revolutionary Cuba Today.** Speaker Julie Weed, recently returned from Venceremos

## Cuba celebration

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Cambridge

**Celebrate July 26th: 35th Anniversary of the Birth of the Cuban Revolution.**

Edward Boorstein, author of *The Economic Transformation of Cuba* and frequent visitor to Cuba, speaking on "A Historical Overview of the Cuban Revolution"; Kenneth Jones, member, National Executive Committee of Venceremos Brigade and recent visitor to Angola, speaking on "The Cuban Role in Southern Africa"; Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the *New International* and frequent visitor to Cuba, speaking on "Political Developments in Cuba Today and Cuba's Role in the Americas." Translation to Spanish. Music by Flor de Caña. Tue., July 26, 7 p.m. Old Cambridge Baptist Church, 1151 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: July 26 Event Committee. For more information call Casa (617) 492-8699 or NICA 497-7142.

Brigade to Cuba. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 30, 7 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Celebration of the Cuban Revolution.** Speaker: Omari Musa, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, recently returned from Cuba. Sun., July 24. Two classes: "Legacy of Che Guevara," 1 p.m.; and "Cuba Today: An Eyewitness Report," 3 p.m. Cuban-style dinner, 6 p.m.; "Rally in Celebration of the Cuban Revolution," 7:30 p.m. 3165 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$1 per class, dinner \$3, rally \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

**The Iran Airbus Massacre: Behind the War in the Persian Gulf.** Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 30. Dinner, 6 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 3165 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donations: dinner \$3, program \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

**Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and Pathfinder bookstores.**

**ALABAMA: Birmingham:** SWP, YSA, 1306 1st Ave. N. Mailing address: P.O. Box 11963. Zip: 35202. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

**ARIZONA: Phoenix:** SWP, YSA, 1809 W. Indian School Rd. Zip: 85015. Tel: (602) 279-5850. **Tucson:** YSA, c/o Ursula Kolb, P.O. Box 853. Zip: 85702-0852. Tel: (602) 795-2146.

**CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles:** SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3702 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 420-1165. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **Seaside:** YSA, c/o Brian Olewude, 1790 Havana St. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-7948.

**FLORIDA: Miami:** SWP, YSA, 137 NE 54th St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 370486. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** YSA, P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 877-9338.

**GEORGIA: Atlanta:** SWP, YSA, 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd Floor. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

**ILLINOIS: Chicago:** SWP, YSA, 6826 S. Stony Island Ave. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 363-7322.

**INDIANA: Muncie:** YSA, c/o Brian Johnson, 619½ N. Dill St. Zip: 47303. Tel: (317) 747-8543.

**IOWA: Des Moines:** SWP, YSA, 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-1695.

**LOUISIANA: New Orleans:** YSA, P.O. Box 53224. Zip: 70153. Tel: (504) 484-6418.

**MARYLAND: Baltimore:** SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst:** YSA, c/o David Warshawsky, P.O. Box 1383, Hampshire College. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 549-4843.

**Boston:** SWP, YSA, 605 Massachusetts Ave. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

**MICHIGAN: Detroit:** SWP, YSA, 5019½ Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

**MINNESOTA: Austin:** SWP, YSA, 407½ N. Main Zip: 55912. Tel: (507) 43

# Nicaragua takes over San Antonio mill

Continued from front page

farmers who grow cane for sale to the San Antonio mill.

The Pellas family, which had owned the mill and plantation for 98 years, announced July 14 that it will appeal the nationalization to the Nicaraguan courts. Carlos Pellas asserted that the San Antonio company "was the symbol of the private sector in Nicaragua." He said the government had acted for political, not economic, reasons, and argued that the decline in production was due to the general crisis in the Nicaraguan economy.

## Sharp fall in production

The sharp drop in Nicaragua's 1987-88 sugar harvest came primarily at the San Antonio mill. As a result, the government, which buys all sugar produced in the country, will not be able to meet its export commitments and maintain domestic consumption levels.

The San Antonio has the capacity to produce 150,000 tons of sugar annually, but its 1987-88 output was only 55,000 tons.

Wheelock noted that, like the San Antonio, the six state-owned mills had suffered from the effects of a prolonged drought and shortages of imported spare parts. However, he pointed out, their production has not fallen anywhere near as drastically.

Francisco Gradiz, head of the CST in the León-Chinandega region, said that production at the San Antonio has been declining ever since the 1979 Sandinista revolution. This was primarily due, he believes, to management's failure to organize the planting, harvesting, and maintenance work properly. In the past two years, there has also been a sharp increase in fire damage to the cane fields, caused by administrative negligence or sabotage.

Union leaders said the Pellas family stopped investing its capital in the mill and cane fields after the revolution. Then it would go to the government bank for loans and allocations of foreign exchange to buy imported parts and supplies.

However, the owners simply pocketed part of this money, together with income from the sale of sugar. They would then complain about shortages of machinery

and parts when they failed to deliver the quantity of sugar agreed upon with the government.

## Union demands nationalization

"In 1982, our union went to the government and denounced the owners for de-capitalizing the mill," Gradiz said. "The union has raised demands for nationalization ever since."

Why didn't the government nationalize the mill earlier?

"Well, perhaps it could have been done," Gradiz replied. "But, of course, the government couldn't just take over the company right away. Here we have a mixed economy, with national unity, and all those political aspects of the revolution. So we couldn't go out and do it without first trying everything possible to find another solution."

In response to the union's complaints, the Ministry of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Reform assigned functionaries to work at the company. "They tried to help out to increase production, but despite all their efforts, production fell. So we were left with no alternative," Gradiz explained.

"I'd say this is a warning to everyone that they should work to help our economy advance," he said. "A patriotic producer who makes the effort to produce will have no problem in Nicaragua." The term "patriotic producer" is often used here to refer to capitalist farmers, ranchers, and factory owners who maintain production.

"But as for those who take a political attitude, who follow the interests of imperialism in its policy of destabilizing the revolution through hunger, we'll have to see what to do with them," Gradiz continued. "And if we had to take this step with the biggest business in the country, I'm sure we'll take the necessary measures with other companies that don't meet their responsibilities."

## Divisions among workers

Víctor Sevilla, who has worked at the San Antonio for 13 years and is now head of the CST local there, told the *Militant* that "the workers here are divided." Although the CST has won a majority of the workers, a significant minority looks to the Federation of Trade Union Unity (CUS). The CUS maintains ties with the U.S. AFL-CIO officialdom, and functions in Nicaragua in a political alliance with capitalist associations and antigovernment parties.

The CUS is particularly strong among office workers and some of the mill workers, Sevilla said. The CST has its greatest support among the field workers.

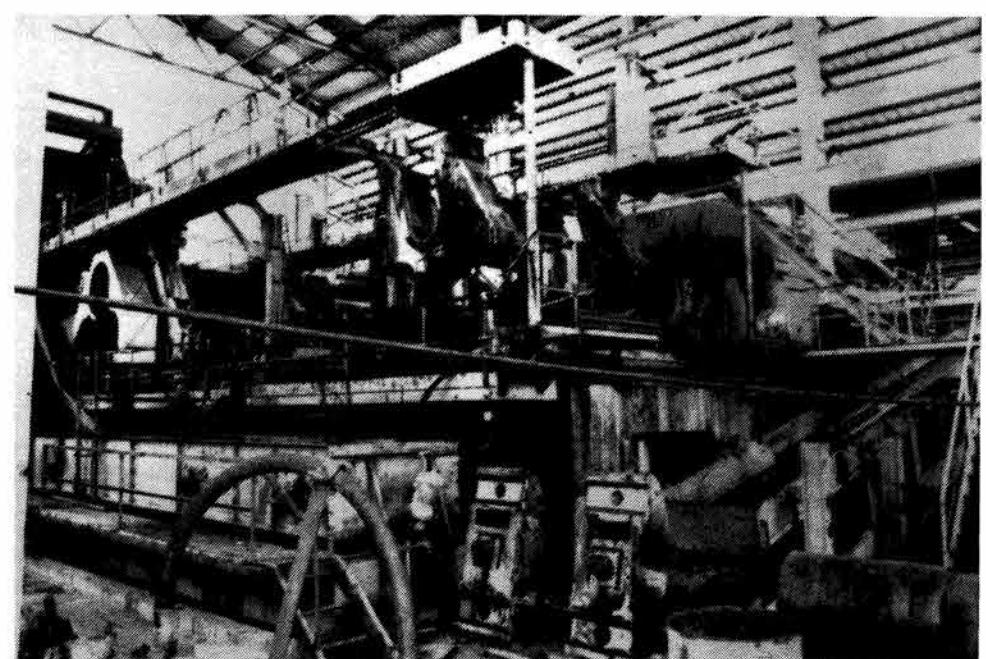
In its competition with the CST, the CUS had the backing of the San Antonio owners, he explained. Management victimized workers who supported the revolution, including denying them promotion. The bosses took advantage of paternalistic relationships they had built up with a section of the work force over the years to promote the CUS.

"Before the revolution, the San Antonio was always a better place to work than other mills," Sevilla recalled. "They paid a little more, and you got more food through the company store." The huge San Antonio complex also has its own schools, hospital, cinema, church, and even a baseball stadium with lights.

"One-third of the workers live in company housing. They pay no rent and receive water and electricity for free. That is how Pellas maintained a stable work force," he said.

Since the revolution, conditions have deteriorated at the San Antonio, and workers are now better off at state-owned mills, Sevilla said. Much of the decline is the result of management decisions, but the company has convinced some workers that the Sandinista government is to blame.

For instance, the critical shortage of basic goods is a major complaint of workers here. "The bosses often said they couldn't provide rice or cooking oil or soap in the company store because it wasn't available from the state-run distribution companies. When the union went to check, the goods were often there, but the com-



Militant/Fred Murphy

Owners of San Antonio sugar mill allowed machinery, photographed here in 1979, to fall into disrepair, and had stalled on planting crops.

pany had not made the effort or spent the money to get them," Sevilla said.

The day after the government announcement, workers at San Antonio expressed a wide range of views on the nationalization.

"I don't like it," an older man said. "Mister Pellas was always good to us. We could always go to him for a little loan."

Paulo Enío, a carpenter, said he opposed the takeover, but then declared he hoped the workers would now get as good food and pay as the workers at state-owned mills. Enío had recently worked at one such mill, the Victoria de Julio, and conditions "were definitely better there," he said.

"We'll see what happens in a couple of months," said a boiler mechanic. "I just hope things get better for us."

Several workers complained about low wages and about the lack of supplies at the company store.

"It's the government's fault," asserted a young woman whose husband works in the mill. "It was better before the revolution. Now, look at our miserable wages! How can I feed my children with what my husband makes?"

Santos Flores, a watchman with 25 years at the mill, argued that the workers could raise production and improve their living conditions now that the company was nationalized. If the government had problems in providing supplies, he continued, it was because it had to spend money on defense against the contra war.

The workers who spoke to the *Militant*, whether for or against the nationalization, all agreed that the owners had run down the property.

"The bosses didn't worry about production like they did before the revolution," Flores said. "Then, they were always checking on every field, every piece of equipment. Today, if the government hadn't intervened, the San Antonio would have collapsed."

A young office worker who opposed the takeover said, "Of course the company

couldn't invest any more. They had no future. They didn't know what the government would do next."

## Gov't seeks to unite workers

Government and CST leaders are encouraging all employees to remain at the mill. "We're not looking to blame anyone on the staff," Gradiz said. "We want everyone to work together to save the next harvest." This includes the technical and administrative staff, he said, who would continue to receive the relatively high salaries they had under the Pellas ownership.

Sevilla said he agreed with this policy, noting that it would be difficult to find experienced people to staff the large mill and plantation. "But we're going to watch their conduct," he added. "We want them to work with the union, and not to oppose the government's policies."

To help meet the new leadership challenge at the San Antonio, the government has assigned a team of Sandinista National Liberation Front members to work there. Sevilla said the new administrators were collaborating with the union to explain the nationalization, and to prepare for the next harvest.

"The new director is having a series of assemblies with all the workers. This never happened when the Pellas family ran the mill," Sevilla noted.

The government has announced it will take special measures to benefit the San Antonio workers. Those in company housing will continue to live rent free, and receive water and electricity for free. The government will also maintain the schools and hospital at the mill, and health care will now be free as in other state medical facilities.

Wheelock also announced that land will be given to the union to plant food crops, and that the San Antonio workers will get priority in the distribution of essential goods.

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

July 28, 1978

WASHINGTON — More than 3,000 Indians and almost as many non-Indian supporters marched and rallied here July 15 at the culmination of the Longest Walk.

The walk started in San Francisco last February, covering nearly 4,000 miles. Some 30 demonstrators walked the full distance.

The walk dramatized Native American's opposition to 11 separate bills in Congress that would undermine or totally eliminate Indian treaty rights. It was also a reaffirmation of traditional Indian culture, with religious ceremonies combined with protest and educational activities in many towns and cities along the way.

American Indian Movement leader Clyde Bellecourt summarized the purpose of the walk at the rally in Washington's Malcolm X Park: "We are here to let America know, to let the world know, that we still survive, that everything we had hasn't been stolen from us, that we have a way of life that has existed for thousands of years."

### THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Aug. 5, 1963

Price 10c

In an interview with the Mexican magazine *Siempre*, Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro warmly praised the economic relations between the Soviet Union and Cuba. He said that Cuba got fair prices for its sugar and that when the world market price rose, the Soviet Union on its own initiative raised the price paid to Cuba for sugar previously contracted. Castro said such fairness had never characterized U.S.-Cuban trade relations.

He declared that the economic situation of Latin American countries whose economies are under U.S. or Western European control is going to get worse as a result of the creation of economic blocs in Europe and trade restrictions in the United States.

Castro also said his recent conversations with Soviet leaders involved "theoretical and practical" discussions on the imbalance existing between the industrialized and the underdeveloped countries.

## Subscribe to 'Barricada Internacional'

Barricada Internacional, the biweekly official voice of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is available in English or Spanish. The price is 6 months for \$12, one year for \$24.

Send check or money order to:  
Nica News  
P.O. Box 398, Stn. "E"  
Toronto, Ontario  
M6H 4E3 Canada

# U.S. out of Persian Gulf now!

The Reagan administration is hailing the Iranian government's July 18 call for an immediate cease-fire as vindication of Washington's move last year to send a huge naval and air armada to the Persian Gulf. "We stayed the course in the gulf," said one State Department official.

An editorial in the July 19 *New York Times* struck a similar congratulatory note. "The increased deployment of the U.S. Navy in the Persian Gulf incurred many risks, as was underscored by the tragic shooting down of an Iranian airliner on July 3. But that deployment . . . has contributed to Iran's failing fortunes on the battlefield and hence to its apparent decision to end the war."

The weakening of Iran's position in the war was gained at a terrible price for working people in the Persian Gulf, the United States, and around the world. The costs include the violation of the right of self-determination of the peoples of Iran, Iraq, and other countries in the area.

The costs also include the U.S. rulers' continued denial of the democratic right of the people of the United States to a voice in deciding questions of war and peace.

The cost in human life includes the 37 U.S. sailors who died on the USS *Stark*, and the 290 civilians killed when a U.S. warship shot down an Iranian passenger airliner. And that is only the beginning.

The *Times* editorial boasted that "Iraq's sustained threat to Iran's oil exports" was "made possible by the U.S. Navy's activities in the gulf." Despite Washington's claims to be protecting "freedom of navigation" in the region, attacks on commercial shipping rose by more than 60 percent after the U.S. military began escorting Kuwaiti tankers in July 1987.

In addition to giving the Iraqi rulers a free hand to at-

tack Iranian ships by blocking retaliation, the U.S. buildup gave the Iraqi military a free hand to carry out large-scale rocket attacks on Iranian cities, bombing raids on factories, and poison gas attacks. In the past year these actions have taken thousands of lives of civilians and soldiers.

The U.S. presence resulted in a massive escalation in the human cost of Iraq's war against Iran. This was no mistake — it was the Reagan administration's intention.

The war began in 1980, when the government of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein ordered an all-out invasion of Iran. Washington supported Iraq, hoping that its forces would soon weaken or even topple the Iranian government and put an end to the revolutionary upsurge in Iran.

To the surprise of Washington and the Iraqi rulers, the Iranian people fought back fiercely and eventually pushed back the invaders. When it began to appear possible that Iran would win the war, Washington moved in an armada last year to threaten and attack Iran.

To accomplish this, thousands of U.S. sailors and other personnel were deliberately placed in harm's way.

It remains to be seen whether the Iranian government's latest offer will bring about a temporary halt or final end to the Iraq-Iran fighting.

Whatever the outcome, the goals of U.S. intervention in that region — past, present and future — have nothing to do with peace. The U.S. military presence is aimed at strengthening U.S. economic and political dominance and dealing blows to the struggles of the Iranian people and oppressed people throughout the Middle East.

Working people in the United States and around the world have an interest in demanding that the U.S. government get its ships, planes, and troops out of the Persian Gulf region now.

# Using capitalist methods cannot build communism

**BY DOUG JENNESS**

When working people overturn the political rule of bankers, big businessmen, and landlords, set up their own government, and expropriate the exploiters — as they did in Cuba in 1959 and 1960 — they open the road to advance toward communism.

But this process doesn't happen automatically. What is necessary to make this transition is the main theme of Ernesto Che Guevara's 1965 article in the new pamphlet,

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

*Socialism and Man in Cuba* (Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia).

Cuban President Fidel Castro, whose speech on the 20th anniversary of Guevara's death is also included in this pamphlet, explained that many of Che's ideas on this question are very relevant today. "I am convinced communism cannot be built" without them, he said.

Castro noted, however, that after Guevara's death in October 1967, the Cuban revolution went through "a disgraceful period" in which it veered off the course toward building a communist society. Guevara "would have been appalled," at many of the developments during this period, Castro said, as he would "feel jubilant" about the current attempts in Cuba to overcome these tendencies and set a new course.

Castro outlined the developments that would have caused Che "to feel profound and terrible bitterness." Mainly, this included the increased use of methods, habits, and ideas from capitalism.

A tendency developed among many managers, he noted, to play at capitalism, to begin "to think and act like capitalists, forgetting about the country, and high standards." These "two-bit capitalists" — as we call them — "resorted to deceit and stealing to try to show that their particular enterprises were profitable."

Castro cited the practice of some enterprises pretending to have done January's work in December in order to show greater income for the year.

Prizes and bonuses were awarded that had no relationship to production, Castro said. Moreover, items were produced that would help fulfill the plan at the expense of those that were more needed but yield less income. The Cuban leader gave the example of "putting up a few foundations because that was worth a lot and then not finishing the building because that was worth little." There was a "tendency to say, 'I fulfilled my plan as to value but I didn't finish a single building.'"

Enterprises were overstaffed and production norms suffered. Work shifts were shortened and millions of hours of paid overtime became common. Even surgeons were affected, Castro said, "putting just anybody under the knife in order to double or triple their income."

One of the most critical problems was that voluntary work was allowed to decline. In the early years of the revolution brigades of volunteer workers had played a major role in carrying out many projects, from harvesting crops to building new schools and houses.

It was, Castro said, "the brainchild of Che and one of the best things he left us during his stay in our country and his part in the revolution."

The theoreticians and technocrats, Castro added, "those who do not believe in man," had stopped and dismantled the volunteer minibrigades. They thought "voluntary work was kind of silly, a waste of time, that problems had to be solved with overtime."

The result of all these tendencies, Castro affirmed, was not only that the "technocrats, two-bit capitalists, and bureaucrats," were obstructing the building of socialism, but that "the mentality of our workers was being corrupted and men were increasingly being motivated by the pesos on their minds."

To follow on "those worn capitalist paths," he said, would "mean eventually to forget all ideas of solidarity and even internationalism."

The reliance on economic mechanisms and categories that reinforce and reproduce all the worst self-seeking and narrow-visioned traits of capitalism cannot advance the building of communism. This can only be done by men and women whose point of departure is the interests of the entire working class. If workers focus only on themselves, their own plants, their own communities, or even their own countries, divisions are reinforced. Solidarity, as Castro explained, is undermined. And economic and social advances are actually retarded, not moved forward.

Che wasn't naive or an idealist for opposing use of capitalist economic laws and categories, Castro observed. Because the reality is that only confidence in human beings, in working people — inspiring and educating them with a broader social understanding and commitment and mobilizing them — can lead to communism. "If we think that man is an incorrigible little animal," Castro said, "capable of advancing only if you feed him grass or tempt him with a carrot or whip him with a stick — anybody who believes this, anybody convinced of this will never be a revolutionary."

# Free Mandela! Free South Africa!

On July 18 Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress of South Africa, marked his 70th birthday in prison. He has served going on 26 years of a life sentence imposed by the apartheid courts. The majority of those years were spent under the harsh conditions of infamous Robben Island. He is now held in isolation in the hospital wing of the mainland Pollsmoor prison in Capetown.

His continued imprisonment is ample testimony to the brutality of the apartheid rulers, who resort to the most barbaric acts to defend their dominance — from long imprisonments, bannings, and beatings to torture and hangings.

But even behind bars and despite his age, Mandela is the most feared opponent of the racist regime in Pretoria. As African National Congress President Oliver Tambo has said, "Nelson is a victor. He is everywhere in the world. He conquered prison and now they are keeping him in jail because they are afraid of him."

The apartheid rulers know that sometimes a single human being, an individual, can represent a great deal. And that is the case with Nelson Mandela, who has given his life to the struggle for a democratic land for all who live in South Africa.

On Mandela's birthday the South African regime marshaled its extensive police force to suppress all demonstrations in solidarity with Mandela. The police banned a

tea party, two concerts, a foot race, and a soccer match scheduled to honor the ANC leader.

Mandela's uncompromising determination is a powerful example and source of inspiration not only to his people but to millions around the world who have joined in the fight to bring an end to the modern day system of slavery, known as apartheid. Hundreds of thousands of people gathered in marches, concerts, and cultural and sports events around the world to celebrate Mandela's birthday and to demand his release.

Scores of governments issued appeals for Mandela's release.

The fight to free Mandela is inseparably tied to the fight to bring down the apartheid regime. In response to a government offer of conditional freedom in 1985, Mandela told the South African people, "What freedom am I being offered while the organization of the people remains banned? . . . When I must ask for permission to live in an urban area? . . . When I need a stamp in my pass to seek work? . . . When my very South African citizenship is not being respected?

"I cannot — and will not — give any undertaking at a time when I and you, the people, are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated."

The effort to free Mandela demands a stepped-up international campaign by all opponents of racism to break all economic, diplomatic, sporting, and military ties between every government and the apartheid state.

# The hazardous waste crisis

With a massive tide of medical debris and raw sewage shutting down beaches in the greater New York area, the escalating problem of waste pollution was spotlighted.

In the United States and elsewhere, mountains of waste, much of it dangerous, is being created, and available storage sites are being rapidly depleted. There is little in the way of planning to cope with the problem.

The amount alone of hazardous waste generated is mind-boggling. In 1970 the government estimated that 9 million metric tons had been created. By 1984 it had leaped to 147 million tons. Today the amount of dangerous waste created is estimated at 400 million metric tons.

Landfills are being loaded to overflow. It's estimated that within a decade, half the states will have exhausted their landfill capacity.

Some landfill sites have been compelled to shut down because dangerous toxins were spreading into nearby land, water, and air.

Increased moves to impose new landfill sites where working people live are being made. With a growing public demand for regulations to assure proper disposal of dangerous waste, the traffic in illegal waste disposal has flourished.

A growing amount of the poisonous refuse is being exported to impoverished colonial and semicolonial countries.

In West Africa the danger has become so acute that

popular anger has forced governments to start putting their foot down and saying no to the waste traffickers.

In this country, Congress and state legislatures, ever concerned with ensuring corporate profits, have been stubbornly reluctant to enact necessary legislative safeguards for the disposal of waste. And, notoriously, federal, state, and local agencies charged with enforcing those laws on the books have persistently looked the other way.

With the release of 20 million tons of raw sewage from a New York water treatment plant, it was disclosed that all 14 of the city's plants are obsolete and in violation of federal standards. They regularly dump hundreds of millions of tons of untreated sewage into the area's waters.

In Congress, in early July, an amendment was offered to the Clean Water Act to provide New York with funding to modernize its water treatment system.

Under Senate rules, the money would have had to come from the space program. With that choice — clean water on earth versus exploring space — the clean-water proposal was defeated by a 2-to-1 margin.

Effective legislation and effective enforcement is urgently needed to cope with the hazardous waste crisis. The record has made it all too clear that, left to their own devices, Democratic and Republican lawmakers will not take meaningful action. Working people need to mount strong pressure to achieve this.

# Maine paper local rebuilds after strike retreat

BY JON HILLSON

"We didn't think anybody could walk into that mill and take the job that we knew how to do, and go ahead and do it. But Boise Cascade decided it was going to train those people, and make them paperworkers." Don Barker was describing the reaction of paperworkers in Rumford, Maine, to Boise Cascade's decision to bring in scabs, after Local 900 of the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) went on strike at the pulp-and-paper mill in July 1986. Barker is president of Local 900.

Local 900 members are among the most active supporters of the union paperworkers who have been on strike

## UNION TALK

against International Paper Co. in neighboring Jay, Maine, since June 1987. Many IP workers point to the Boise Cascade strike as a preview to their own battle.

I spoke with Barker recently about what has happened to Local 900 since the strike two years ago. He explained that the strike had started over Boise Cascade's demands that the union accept a series of big concessions in wages, benefits, and work rules. Included was the introduction of a two-tier wage set-up and a speed-up scheme dubbed "flexibility" by the company. Paper corporations around the country were forcing such concessions on paperworkers.

The 1,100 union members' rejection of the company proposal was nearly unanimous. The vote to strike passed with 92 percent voting yes.

"We'd had strikes in '63, '64, and 1980," Barker said. Most thought the 1986 strike would be the same.

It wasn't. The strike began July 1. By the end of the month, there were 300 scabs working in the mill, along with several dozen Local 900 members who crossed the picket line and went back to work.

The company hired two private security outfits. The black-uniformed thugs from Special Protection, Inc., Barker recalled, "engaged in baton practice every day outside the mill to intimidate us."

Trained as goons, SPI forces assaulted Local 900 pickets. "We didn't know what was coming," Local 900 member Lew Irish added. "We didn't believe it, weren't prepared for it, didn't understand it. We were overwhelmed. We didn't know how to fight."

The strikers also found out that the scabs hired by Boise, over a time, could be trained to do the work.

By September, Barker explained, the company had more than 5,000 job applications from around the country. Boise Cascade told the strikers that unless they returned to work promptly, hundreds of maintenance workers would be permanently replaced. Some 300 production workers had already been replaced by scabs, the company said.

This threat had an effect, Barker said. But, in his view, it was the National Labor Relations Board that broke the strike by rejecting Local 900's unfair labor practices charges against Boise Cascade.

On September 12, at a meeting attended by nearly 1,000 union members, the local's negotiating committee brought in a unanimous recommendation to accept the company's original offer and return to work.

The membership voted by a 2 to 1 margin to accept the proposal. "Another two weeks on strike," Barker said, "and we would all have been replaced. We decided to wrap this up and fight them from within."

When the local went back to work, 378 union mem-

bers remained outside, on a recall list. There were 391 scabs inside the mill, including 61 union members who had gone back in before the strike ended.

Many Local 900 members have worked since then to rebuild the union. This has netted results, to the surprise of Boise Cascade and others who thought the company had crushed the local.

Attendance at union meetings, Barker said, "is up 300 percent, compared to before the strike." He also points to the \$144,000 that Local 900 has donated to the Jay International Paper strikers, and the \$500,000 it has donated to sustain Local 900 members before they were recalled to work.

Of the 330 scabs in the mill when the strike ended, 93 have quit. Union members have been recalled to fill those jobs, along with recalls for other reasons. On July 1 management announced all remaining workers on the recall list were back at work.

Recently, five union members fired by Boise Cascade — four during the strike, and one earlier — have all won their jobs back, along with \$175,000 in lost wages, plus benefits.

Local 900's current contract expires June 1 next year. Boise Cascade has asked the union to begin early negotiations by reopening the current contract. "They want to avoid 'labor strife' because of the construction of their new cogeneration facility," said Barker. "But we told them, 'bring everybody back to work' if you want to talk." Other Local 900 members say there is a strong sense of unity among union members, and a militant atmosphere inside the mill.

*Jon Hillson is a presser in a Boston garment shop and a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' union.*

## LETTERS

### Radioactive milk

The infant mortality rate in Maryland and Washington, D.C., dropped dramatically after the Peach Bottom nuclear power plant closed in March 1987, according to a study conducted by Dr. Ernest Sternglass, a professor emeritus of radiological physics at the University of Pittsburgh.

During a speaking engagement in Bel Air, Maryland, the Associated Press reported that Sternglass said infant deaths declined after the plant closed because milk produced in York and Lancaster counties in Pennsylvania showed reduced levels of radioactive elements. Sternglass explained that the radiation in the milk caused infants to die from a lack of oxygen, infection, and hormonal changes that stunt growth.

The plant remains closed after the Nuclear Regulatory Commission cited the Philadelphia Electric Co., which operates the plant, with gross mismanagement.

*Charlie Rosenberg  
Baltimore, Maryland*

### Action Program

Please find enclosed a check for a six-month *Militant* subscription and 10 Action Program pamphlets.

*B.H.  
Portsmouth, Virginia*

### Iranian airliner

Sixty people attended a Friday afternoon after-work rally opposing the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf and the U.S.S. *Vincennes* downing of an Iranian airliner. The July 8 action was called on three days' notice by an ad hoc group of activists involved in the Central America solidarity movement.

Several speakers addressed the crowd, including a student from Iran, who thanked demonstrators for their concern and solidarity. A brief impromptu march through Bloomington took place at the end of the rally.

*Steve Millen  
Bloomington, Indiana*

### Nicaragua theater

Ventana is proud to participate in a multinational theater project in Managua, Nicaragua, this fall. Ventana, a nonprofit organization made up of U.S. artists, has sup-

ported artists and the arts in Nicaragua during the past five years. This event marks our first project in conjunction with the Nicaraguan Theater Union and promises to be the first of many.

The project is twofold:

Janet Langon, a member of Ventana, has been invited to Managua in September to teach a five-week workshop in acting. Students will work on basic acting techniques and scene study, using contemporary American classics by Tennessee Williams, Clifford Odets, and Arthur Miller in translation. The classes will end in workshop performance of one of the plays. This is particularly exciting because it will coincide with Nicaragua's International Theater Festival.

The second part of the project is to help create the Union's Reference Library. As you know, due to the economic embargo by the U.S. government against Nicaragua, it is very difficult for Nicaraguans to obtain artistic material. The Theater Union is trying to build its library of scripts and reference books vital to the continuation of its theater program.

We are hoping to raise \$5,000 by the end of August.

This is an important project and the first of its kind. Through this work we hope to strengthen a growing bond between artists in the United States and those in Nicaragua.

Art can create a bridge between our two cultures, but it takes a determined effort on the part of all of us. Please help us achieve this goal by supporting the successful completion of our project. Contributions can be sent to Ventana, 339 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012.

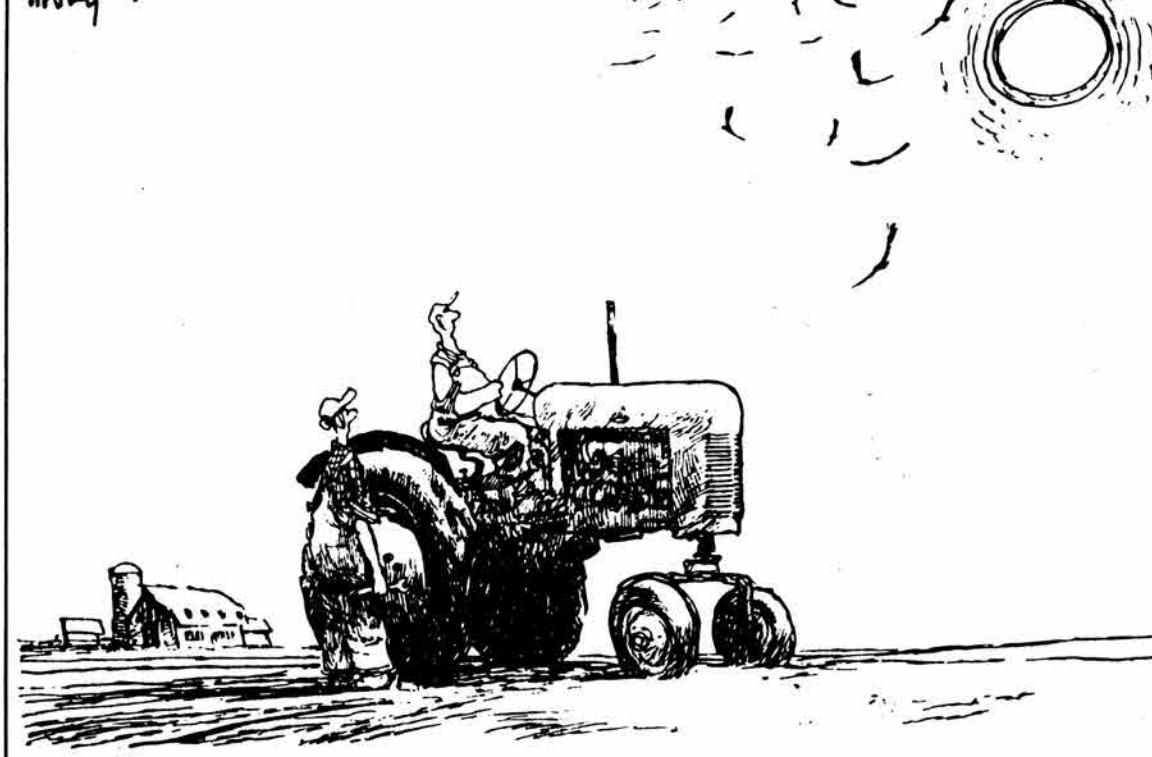
*Madeline Artenberg  
New York, New York*

### Legionnaires' germs

I am enclosing a memorandum that most members of staff at the Royal Society of Medicine received last week. This is how a respectable pillar of the British establishment treats its staff. At first, I was furious, then I just laughed.

The circular reads, "I am writing to tell you that Legionnaires' germs have been discovered in one of our cooling towers. Before you get too alarmed, let me reassure you with the following: The dis-

*MICHAEL Chicago Tribune*



"Right on schedule . . . here come the commodities traders."

ease is perfectly manageable providing it is reported in time. Thus in the event of your getting cold or 'flu symptoms in the next 10 days, you should tell your doctor of the circumstances.

"This letter is to tell you exactly what the situation is. If you have any doubt about your well-being and general health, then see your doctor at once and tell him of the circumstances. Beyond that, we have done all we can to contain the disease; providing you take medical advice if in any doubt at all, then there is no cause for alarm."

I know of two temporary members of staff who to date have not been notified of the possible danger. Similarly, people visiting the premises, to the best of my knowledge, are totally oblivious of the problem.

*A.F.  
London, England*

### One-sided

I found your paper to be very one-sided and offensive to my country. When I subscribed last spring, I was curious to see the other side. I'm glad I experienced the chance to see what kind of tripe the left is pushing. This only

reinforces my moderate political views.

*David McMichael  
Des Moines, Iowa*

### USSR

The *Militant* is getting better all the time. Like to see more about the changes in the USSR.

*E.L.  
Vancouver, Canada*

### Cuba

In response to your editorial in the April 15 issue, called "Cuba's victory on human rights," I would like to point out something concerning immigration and the nature of the Cuban state. Your article points out, "There are no penitentiaries in Cuba . . . like the federal jail in Atlanta where many immigrants from Cuba were held for many years under horrifying conditions."

One cannot disagree with that statement, but one also cannot disagree with the fact that the only people who go to Cuba are Soviet technicians and occasional tourists from Bulgaria. This editorial unscientifically used an effect as an example, without bothering to look at the cause.

There is no question that the

United States is a repressive state, masquerading as a democracy, but your senses fail to question why the immigrants were leaving in the first place. Cuba is as socialist as the U.S. Postal Service; nationalization does not equal socialism.

*George Rosamond  
Bedford Hills, New York*

### Puerto Rico

Thank you for your excellent coverage concerning the revolutionary socialist struggle in Central America and the Caribbean.

In particular, I am interested in the fight for Puerto Rican independence. Please print more articles on the courageous patriots who are presently incarcerated unfairly and unjustly in jails across the United States. These brave men and women are true friends of the beautiful nation of Puerto Rico.

*Gary Blume  
White Plains, New York*

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

## Framework for talks on Angola war set

Announcement follows meeting by Angola, S.Africa, Cuba, U.S. envoys

BY SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK — Representatives of the U.S., South African, Angolan, and Cuban governments, meeting in New York, signed a 14-point statement July 13 that sets a framework for attempting to get agreement to end the U.S.-South African war against the people of Angola.

In making the announcement of the agreement, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker said the proposal constituted, "the essential elements of a political settlement in southwestern Africa."

Angolan Army Chief of Staff Gen. Antonio dos Santos Franca Ndalu, who also headed the Angolan delegation, expressed satisfaction with the results of the meeting.

Jorge Risquet Valdez, secretary of international affairs of the Cuban Communist Party who was attending a meeting in Zimbabwe, said he was "encouraged by the progress made." Thousands of Cuban internationalist troops are in Angola helping to defend that country against South African military invasion.

Neil van Heerden, the director general of the South African Foreign Ministry said,

"We have been able to overcome a number of important problems." All agreed however that an actual settlement remains far off.

South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha was more cautious in reacting to the agreement, saying that it was too early to interpret the progress made at the three days of talks.

This was the third meeting between representatives of the four governments since the beginning of May. The previous two meetings were held in London and Cairo. An observer from the government of the Soviet Union has participated in the last two meetings.

### Independence for Namibia

The Angolan and Cuban governments have proposed four points on which a political settlement of the war could be reached. They are withdrawal of South African troops from Angola; recognition of Angolan sovereignty; independence for Namibia and withdrawal of South African troops from that country; and an end to U.S. and South African aid to the Angolan contra group the National Union for the Total In-



Cindy Reiman/Impact Visuals

Angola Army Chief of Staff Gen. Antonio dos Santos Franca Ndalu

dependence of Angola, UNITA.

South African armed forces provide arms, train, and fight alongside UNITA bands against the government of Angola. South African and UNITA forces suffered

a decisive defeat on March 23 in fighting for the strategic southern Angola town of Cuito Cuanavale. Just two weeks before that battle combined forces of Angolan, Cuban, and South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) troops moved against South African forces in Angola's southwestern provinces, driving to within six miles of the Angolan-Namibian border.

SWAPO is the leading organization in Namibia fighting against South African colonial rule in Namibia.

The South African government has admitted that at least 12 of its soldiers were killed in fighting against Angolan and Cuban forces on June 26 and 27. The South African government also claims that from 200 to 300 Angolan and Cuban troops were killed in that fighting. But U.S. government intelligence officials believe those figures are "vastly inflated."

The Angolan press agency AGOP reported 26 South African soldiers were killed and eight soldiers were killed from among the Angolan and Cuban units.

There are signs of growing differences among supporters and members of the apartheid regime over prospects for maintaining its military presence in Angola. A few days before the four-government meeting in New York, *Die Kerkbode*, official organ of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa, questioned South Africa's presence in Angola. The Dutch Reformed Church remains an important supporter of the apartheid regime.

In an interview published in the July 7 pro-government daily *Beeld*, Foreign Minister Botha also questioned South Africa's military presence in Angola saying, "I am personally of the opinion that if the enemy is dug in over a broad front and is equipped with a deadly arsenal, you must think twice before you simply allow hundreds of your sons to be killed."

## New York-area beaches closed as raw sewage, medical waste wash ashore

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — The greater New York area was hit hard in mid-July by a mounting crisis of waste disposal. In the sweltering heat wave, hundreds of thousands of bathers were barred from beaches in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut as the tides washed in medical waste and raw sewage. Trash slicks several hundreds of yards long, and miles wide, were reported.

Areas previously relatively free of pollution were hit. The 15 miles of beachfront shut down in Long Island included Jones Beach and Robert Moses State Park. It was the first time in 12 years they had been closed because of contamination.

Many government officials denied that hospitals, which were immediately suspected of illegally dumping the medical debris, were to blame.

"We don't believe this is a medical or hospital type wash-up," said a regional official of the federal Environmental Protection Agency on July 8.

People are mistaking popsicle sticks for tongue depressors, added a city investigator.

But that didn't wash. Some of the syringes found were the type used for drawing blood or injecting medicine. Some of the insulin-type syringes were new.

There were capped test tubes of blood, prescription medical bottles, plastic pill containers, cotton swabs, trauma bandages, and medical tubing.

Hardest hit by the debris was Midland Beach on Staten Island. Significantly, this beach is near a sewage treatment plant hit by a power blackout July 12.

Lacking a backup power system — it had been decided none was needed because such a blackout was "unlikely" — the plant poured 20 million gallons of raw sewage into New York Harbor.

That brought a level of contamination high enough to shut down all the city beaches in Brooklyn and Staten Island.

If swallowed, the bacteria from dissolved fecal matter in raw sewage can cause hepatitis, infections, and intestinal disorders.

After several days all the beaches were permitted to reopen, except Midland Beach

and neighboring South Beach. It was not reported if the same level of sewage contamination continued, but incoming tides continued to dump medical debris there.

Describing the situation at Midland Beach, a city water engineer said, "Tide after tide after tide, stuff keeps coming in. It's very peculiar, the whole thing."

Of the total medical debris collected on Staten Island's seven beaches, 58 percent came from Midland Beach. In just one week 509 medical-waste items were found there, 248 of them needles. This bolstered the view that some of the medical waste is being dropped in the sewer system.

Illegal dumping of hazardous medical waste has been a growing problem in the city. Last year, in Brooklyn, 1,400 pounds of such waste was found dumped in a Brooklyn warehouse.

A state law, enacted last year, is supposed to regulate the disposal of hospital waste, but the regulations to implement it have not even been put in place.

A July 18 *New York Newsday* editorial commented:

"The state law governing the disposal of infectious hospital waste is the statutory equivalent of a burglar alarm that broadcasts the sound of a barking dog. It is not

only toothless, it is dogless."

Pointing to the scope of the problem, Walter Hang, a toxic research director for the New York Public Interest Research Group, explained, "The medical wastes that have closed beaches in the New York metropolitan area are part and parcel of the enormous solid waste crisis that has our state in an unrelenting chokehold."

On July 18 the Public Interest Research Group released a report disclosing that last year, the city's 14 water treatment plants discharged 7.9 billion gallons of untreated waste.

In that one year, there were 302 spills, the largest involving 440 million gallons of raw sewage.

"What we found," Hang said, "dwarfs the incident that closed the beaches."

He said that in addition to power failures, the huge number of spills involved mechanical failures at the 14 treatment plants and in the 6,000 miles of sewer pipes that feed them.

Since 1985, the Ward Island treatment plant, hit by a sewer collapse, has dumped 900,000 gallons of untreated waste water a month into the East River.

Hang charged that all 14 plants were in violation of federal pollution control requirements.

## 1,000 in Atlanta demand 'Stop death penalty'

BY ERLING SANNE

ATLANTA — Some 1,000 opponents of the death penalty converged here for a mile-long march through downtown culminating in a rally at the steps of the Georgia state capitol.

Marchers carried signs and banners calling for an "End to judicial murder," "Stop the killings now," "Execute justice not people," "Stop the racist death penalty," and "Free the Sharpeville Six," referring to a group of young Blacks facing execution by the apartheid regime in South Africa.

The June 18 demonstration was organized as a part of the Annual General Meeting of the U.S. Section of Amnesty International, the London-based international human rights organization.

It was the largest anti-death penalty march held in the United States in many years. The crowd included participants from almost all of the 50 U.S. states as well as representatives from several other countries, including Canada, Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, France, and the Netherlands. Several family members of Georgia death row inmates joined in the demonstration.

There are now 2,047 men, women, and children as young as 16 on death row in the United States, more than any other country in the world. About 250 people are sentenced to death row each year. Although 120 countries permit the use of the death penalty, only a handful use it with regularity. The United States and South

Africa lead the world in the number of executions.

Nowhere outside South Africa is the racist character of the death penalty plainer than in the United States. Since 1972, more than 700 Blacks have been sentenced to death in cases where the victim was white. Twenty-seven of them have been executed. In comparison, 40 white people have received the death penalty in cases where the victim was Black. None have been executed.

The Atlanta demonstration came four days after Edward Byrne Jr. was killed by the state of Louisiana on June 14 after spending almost four years on death row. Byrne was the 100th person to be put to death since the U.S. Supreme Court permitted resumption of the penalty in 1976.